NEVER FAILE:

OR,

That ſure way of thriving

UNDER ALL

REVOLUTIONS

a trifling book

IN

An Eminent

INSTANCE

From 1639. to 1661.

by David Lloyd

LONDON:

Printed for *Henry Marſh* at the *Princes Armes* in *Chancery-Lane* neer *Fleet-Street*, 1663.

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E. G. Erickson
APR 21 1931
(BUD)

TO THE

Most Illustrious JAMES DUKE of *YORK*.

May it please your Highness,

SPeculation is the *life* of a Scholar, and action is the *life* of a Prince.

It sufficeth the *one* to *meditate* upon the great things which former ages have *done*, while the *other* doth great things, which future ages may *meditate* upon: the one [b] rests when he hath [c] raised a scheme, a frame,

Arist. Pol. 6. 2. Aquin. eth. 1. 2. Suarez et Burid. ibid. Rev. D. Priep. ded. cosmogr.

(b) *Mentes sapientiores sunt qui escendo.* Plat. ἡ γνῶσις ὄρημια vid Rev. d. Reyn Passions: ex Arist. et aliis, &c.

(c) Bacon de Augment. scient. des-cartes medit. 7. Digby Immortality soul 7.

(d) De Idea in Deo vid. Grot. Christ. relig. 1. Annot. ex Anaxag. &c.

(e) He hath made all things in number and measure Syr. τῶν ὄντων τίμιον Synes beautifull in his time, Eccl. 3.11.

(f) vid Dickens. Delph. Phæn. de Pans. τὸ σεμνὸν Scalig. exercit. 6. c. 7. Salm. Tertull. de Palleo. Plat. de 21.

(g) Norunt Garamantes et Indi &c. I have heard Turks, Jews, speak honourably of you

an [d] Idea within himselfe proportionable in all things to the [e] order, and method of beings *without him*, while the other having *understood this* [f] *all* is urged by his eager virtues to performe things as great as those he *understood*; and actions as great as his thoughts.

There is [g] no tongue, nor language, but hath heard that you are as eminent for your action as for your birth; That you are a Prince in *both*, in *both your selfe* is as well known as your *name*.

I need not informe you (great Sir) that all great actions in any way are guided by a [h] wisedom from above, first pure then peaceable, according to the principles and maximes of that way, together with the conclusions rationally, deducible from those principles to their peculiar ends by a discreet application of proper meanes; for it was

your

your selfe that mannaged the great affaires of *France* and *Spaine* with a wisedome as * distant from the sudden *rashnesse* of the one, as from the solemne *slownesse* of the other; bare action the priviledge of lower beings, valour the glory of those more noble, or honour becoming your selfe sufficed you not, without a wisedome guiding all these above your selfe and yeares; Therefore when I entertained thoughts of drawing a rude draught of these great actions, and counsels that I look upon as the best patternes of *Modern Policy*, I mean these of this honourable Person, who discovered most of a Politicians *virtues*, without any of its *vices*; that could be *wise* as a Serpent, and yet *innocent* as a Dove; I immediately resolved to *dedicate* it to your selfe; *wisdom is justified of its children*, the Diamond only can cut Diamond, *the*

(h) Arist. eth. 6. 7 ἐπιστήμη τῶν καθεκαστα Mel. 2. 2. *Nulla quæ natura impedita sunt consilio expediuntur*: Liv. see Reyn: on Hos. 14. v. 9. Ser. 7.

* *Medio tutissimus ibis*, see Duke of Rhoan, Interest of States and Kingdomes.

wise onely understand the wise; when I presume to make your *Highnesse* the *Patron* of this *Modern Policy*, I intimate you ought to be the subject of another, which some [i] soule might attempt with a Pen as Heroick as your sword; writing your life with as much Majesty as you lived it with.

[k] When envy suppressed the worth and malice blasted the innocence of our dread Soveraign with those calumnies (that were never licenced but in the age when Men spoke whatever they thought fit, there being no King in *Israel*;) I humbly desire your Mediation for a pardon to my inconsiderable selfe, who was then past all fear of loss [l] durst vindicate injured *truth* and *Majesty* advancing them above interest, prejudice, & malice, by a course I thought most *conscientious* as a Christian, and most *generous* as a Man; my highest

(i) *Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori: Horat.*

k ἡ Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. Or a Pourtraicture of his sacred Majesty CHARLES the second, with his two illustrious Brothers the Duke of Yorke and Gloucester. Sold by HM at the Princes Armes in the lower end of Chancery lane.

(l) *Amorem asseruit Plato* παντὸς ὑποχειρέτην. Cæl. Rhodig. 16. 15.

highest designe was to *establish* his sacred Majesty in the hearts of his people, which was all *poor I* could doe towards his establishment in his Throne.

Now envy, malice, and ignorance dares abuse that renowned Person, whom the King hath desired to honour, to whom we owe even your very selfe, I could not but doe his Majesty, the Nation, and Himselfe right in justifying his honourable actions, which I doe sufficiently when I *repeate* them; I must confesse I am sorry that former powers allowed me that leasure I had to vindicate the best Majesty; but now his Majesty *is come again to his own House in peace*; I am contented to be at leasure to doe justice to the best *Loyalty*.

‖ *Vespasian* one like your selfe, the *darling of Mankind*, as he *dismissed none sad from him*; so he professed

‖ Diou. Hal. see Suet. in Tit. Vesp. Leighes Cæsars: Maliel: M. S. Bib. Bodl.

παρέχειν ἀκλείφους θυράς σοφοις that his Doores were alwayes open for Schollars: But to his favourite *Appollonius* desiring accesse for *Dion* and *Euphrates*, he said σοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀνεῴχθας δυκοῖ τὰ ἐμὰ but to you my very breast is open, a poor Schollar despaires not of a gracious admission to your royall presence, while he is confident you will give *his grace* the Duke of *Aumarle* admission to your very heart: But alas! Its high time to leave your Highnesse full of thoughts to advance the *honour* and good, and to improve the virtue and valour of your dread Soveraigne and gracious Brothers Dominions; and to retire with my best affections, devoutest prayers, & my *honest* endeavours into the croud —— of your Admirers, and Servants,

David Lloyd.

Modern Policy,

The Second Part.

GOD (*as great ſoules obſerve*) hath equally ſuffered by the *too much* worſhip the ſuperſtition of the World that was *drowned flattered* him with; and by the too *little* which the *Atheiſme* of that World which ſhall be *burned ſlandered* him with. The occaſion.

Good men (ſaith *Voſſius*) are equally injured with the *honour* the fabulous age beſtowed upon them by Legends, as with that the ſullen & ſilent age denyed them; while the one raiſed their worth to that heighth that it cannot be *beleived*; the other keepes it ſo low that it cannot be

known; The good Apoſtle is abuſed as much when the *Barbarians* cry he is a God as when they ſay he is a Malefactor: when he was *worſhipped* at *Lyſtra*, as when he was *ſtoned* there; His Excellency the Lord Generall *Moncke* ſuffereth equally by the Courtiers ſmooth Panegyricks, as by the ignorants dull ſilence, or the envious his malignant calumny, while his renowned actions are made the iſſues of looſe fancies roving at uncertain worth, rather then the iſſues of his great virtues; and after ages ſhall know rather how happy *Poets* they are, then how great or how good a Man he was.

§ 2 It will be therefore but a reaſonable ſervice equally due to his Excellency and to the World; to do his publick performances ſo much right as to expreſſe them with the ſame integrity they were accompliſhed with; and to expoſe them in their own naked *Grandeur* and *plain ſtate* more *ſolemne* with the *ſolid* and *great* then *ſplendid* with the *gaudy* & *vain*; the higheſt honour that can be done to great and ſolid worth is faithfully to repeat it, the greateſt *elogy* that wit can grave upon it is it ſelfe.

§ 3 The

§ 3 The right honourable Sir *George Monck* Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Lord Generall of all the Forces in his Majesties dominions of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; Master of the Horse; and one of his Majesties most Honourable PrivyCouncell; being borne a Gentleman of the posterity of ancient Nobility, and former Majesty, (as that happy Pen may easily evince, which may hereafter in an History due to this renowned Hero's life, consecrate to eternity Him and it selfe) and educated as honourably as he was borne; 1. under such a discipline that moulded his tender soule to that frame that was not onely advantagious towards the succeeding parts of his education, but towards the Regularity of his whole Life: 2. Under that erudition that successively instilled ingenuous and good rudiments into his tender breast, in the order that was proper to his tender years, *Age* at once *maturing* his parts, enlarging his capacity, and advancing his lectures, untill some years education, had accomplished his mind with that stock of active, usefull, and manly knowledge, that *furnished* him with those

Birth and Education.

vertues that are a perfection to noble natures, and a reſt and tranquility to great minds, 1. *bridled* and checked the irregular ſallies of the inferiour faculties, and the impetuous paſſions incident to thoſe years, 2. faſhioned his behaviour to that humanity, that gentleneſs that was due to Mankind, and that modeſty and gravity, as was due to himſelfe, 3. *regulated* his diſcourſe to that temper that became the product of judgement and right reaſon, and raiſed him to thoughts of imployment worthy and ingenuous, abhorring to buſie himſelfe vitiouſly, or impertinently.

§. 4 In a word; when education had made him a compleat Man, he bethought himſelfe that he was *borne to Labour* as naturally as the ſparkes are made to flye upwards, being endued with that ἀεὶ κίνητον as *Jamblichus* calls it, that ever moving and reſtleſſe principle his ſoul, and truſted with thoſe abilities that ſuggeſted to him that he was not ſo far neglected by God or Nature, as to be placed in the World without imployment.

Employment. § 5 He found that if he looked up to Heaven, that was alwayes in its courſe with

with its ſeverall glories, rejoycing to run their race; if he aſcended above humanity, and aſſumed the nature of Angells, imployment would purſue him thither, and overtake him; for they ſtand alwayes before God to know *and do his pleaſure.*

If a *Man in honour* would quit his Birthright whereby he *is a little lower than an Angell*, and *become with* Nebuchadnezzar *like the Beaſts that periſh*; yet both the Field and Forreſt are ſevere Monitors to imployment, each animal being continually engaged in an orderly exerciſe of thoſe powers they are endued with.

Yea the dull Earth (beſides its conſtant exerciſes in ſpring, after it's long vacation) hath been diſcovered by ſome of late to *ſpend it ſelfe and to be ſpent* in conſtant ὑπερροὰ effluviums and emanations.

To deſcend to Hell, and lower he could not go, he ſaw the accurſed Spirit imployed and buſied, *Satan going to and fro in the Earth*, and induſtriouſly *walking about ſeeking whom he may devour*, making diligent uſe of the faculties, abilities, dexterities, which either *his nature* or *experience* have furniſhed him withall, towards the end he propoſeth to himſelfe.

And therefore wondered what they meant that gloried in the ignominious honour and abasing exaltation of being above imployment, which beomes Heaven, Angells, and Men made perfect, and of being priviledged for that idlenesse which is below Earth and Hell, as if it were praise-worthy to be unprofitable burdens of the Earth, to be born onely to consume the fruit of it, *to eat and drink to day*, and *to morrow to die*; as if they were brought to the Earth, as the *Leviathan* to the Sea, *to take their pastime therein.*

A Souldier.

§ 6 He was ready to embrace any ingenuous imployment opportunity offred him and his parts deserved, not (though as a younger Brother) as a prize either to ambition or covetousnesse, but as an opportunity to exercise his vertues, a sphear wherein he might move vigorously for the service and honour of his Country, and (as mens parts, abilities, and capacities, are their best directions in the free choice of their calling wherein they intend to abide with God) finding himselfe master of those manly and severe endowments, that qualifie great natures

for

for the rougher engagements of Camp and Warre, and are above the ſmoother dalliances of Court and Peace, he liſted himſelfe among the noble train of Cavileers, and of their number that were deſigned for actions worthy and great.

§ 7 Although his Excellency had not any right of his own loſt which he was to recover by War (which is defined *to be the ſtate of two* parties contending by publick force about right and wrong) and if he had, yet being a private perſon (ſince the conſtitution of publique Courts of juſtice) he ought to ſubmit his right to the fair triall of judgement, "rather then to "put it to the *ordeall* of force and tumult, "for hence it is that the reverence of the "Law was found out, that nothing "might be done by force, ſee *Paul. L. non eſt de rep.* 1. *Caſſian. l.* 4. *van.* 1. *Ep.* 4. *Theod. edict.* 10. 124. *et L. exſtat. D. quod metus. Serven.* 11. *Æn Virg.* though *Ambroſe de offic.* 3. 3. *Ambros* 1. *lib. arb.* 5. *ep.* 155. 10. 59. *Euſtied. Amic. de Gratian. c. vel caus.* 13. *q.* have been taught to ſpeak by ſome as otherwiſe minded) ſee *Canon. Epiſt.* 55. *edit. novis.* War

Yet when lawfull power and publique

persons for the maintenance or recovery of their rights that are invaded or threatned by some mens ambition or coveteousnesse, *Those lusts whence come Warres and Fightings among us*, have set up a Warre (War being of such concernment and consequence to Commonwealths, that its treason and that justly by most Laws to undertake a War without highest authority; *Plato de leg. l. ult. cic. de leg. l. 2. L. 3. D. ad l. Jul. maj. et Cornel leg. Justin. cod. valent. Aug. cont faust. l. 22. c. 74. p. 206. lin. 10. liv. Dec. ult. vel. l. 29. vid. de bello numero 9.*) I say when lawfull power hath raised a War: Its lawful for private persons to assist others, being not wholly for themselves; it's commendable to become champions to afflicted right, to put forth a noble hand to rescue oppressed innocence out of the jawes of tyranny, it's the best way a younger brother can raise himselfe by raising the afflicted, and nothing ought to be more serviceable to a man saith *Cic. 2. de off.* than another man; it behooves every one to take up Arms upon injury done to himselfe or others, *Arles Rhet ad Alea. c. 3.* and happy are those Common-wealths wherein

wherein every one thinks anothers injury to be his, *and minds not onely his own things but the things of others*, and no man thinks himſelfe unconcerned in that which is humane, *Lactant. car. var l. 6.*

Its uſuall to engage in War for fellow-Citizens, for Mercheants, ſaith *Cic. ad Quint.* and *ver.* 2. by the leave of the ſupream power; indeed he were not a man that had not ſo much of the ſociable nature as to help a man, *Simler rep. Helvet. Senec. de. ira* 1. *c.* 7. *p.* 51. he is not valiant that will not aſſiſt weakneſſe, *Euripid. ſupplic.* nor he juſt, that will not do right to the injured.

Præbent ſaxa perfugium feris, —— auraq; famulis,
Urbibq; preſſis malo —— tutamen urbes, &c.

See *Mores de kocz. præc.* 77. 80. *Ben. Maim. in pec N. c.* 7. And he is not Loyall that will not ſerve his Prince; and there being as great a neceſſity there ſhould be Wars, as the Apoſtle ſaith, that there ſhould be diviſions among us, its not unworthy of great perſons ſo diſpoſed, to ſeek their fortunes in a War, and having given themſelvs to attain abilities ſuitable

to

to the variety of exerciſes to be met with in that way, its reaſon they ſhould follow it, not as mercenary and hired to kill men, and thinking there is moſt right where there is moſt pay, *Plato in theat. Bellin. de re mil. 2. t. 2. p. 106. n. 4.* caſting their life away for that which they have onely for their lives, *Plato Bacch. Diod. ſic. l. 18.* though yet to be encouraged with rewards and ſtipends, for (ſaith St. *Paul*) who ever went a warfare at his own charge? 1 *Cor. 9. 7.* ſee *S. Auguſt. de verb. Dom. Ægid. de ait. ſuper diſp. 31. n. 8.*

Iriſh war. § 8 His Excellency was ready for ſervice when his late Majeſty had a ſad occaſion to employ his ableſt Subjects to ſuppreſſe the Rebellion in *Ireland* occaſioned by the Pope, 1 upon pretence of Religion, 2 a right to *Ireland*, and 3 the oppreſſion of the Catholicks in that Kingdome; but really upon the old maxim, that he that would gaine *England*, (which his holineſſe longs after) muſt firſt begin with *Ireland*, and upon a Prophecy found in the *Vatican* encouraging them at that time there-unto together with ſome ſad diviſions by Romiſh Emiſſaries to be raiſed in *England* about that time.

§ 9

§ 9 His Excellency well knowing that War is lawful: 1 By nature Man (as *Galen de uſu partium* hath it,) being made for war and peace, ſee *Ariſt. de part. animal.* 4. 10. *Caſſiod. de anima. Armaq; in armatos ſumere jura ſinunt Ovid. dente lupus cornu taurus petit, &c. Ho.* For 2. by Scripture, which recordeth it approved by the Prieſt of the moſt high God, *Gen.* 14. 20. which provideth Lawes for it; and recordeth the Worthies that fought *the Battailes of God*, and mentioneth *Men after Gods own heart Men of War; and devout Men, Centurians*, and forbids not Souldiers their employment, but forbids them *violence and falſhood, adviſing them to be content with their wages.*

§ 10 And knowing likewiſe, that this of all wars was moſt lawfull, being for his Majeſty againſt ſuch ſubjects as begun without authority, *It being a generall agreement of all Societies even the Aborig. to obey Superiours leaſt otherwiſe a Commonwealth become a ſolitude, or a confuſed throng where every one commands, and none obeyes, Valer. maxim. l.* 1. *Saluſt.* 2. to the Prince as *Tacitus* writes, doe all Men give the power, and to ſubjects the glory of obedience;

dience; It being *death* to resist by the Law, *Deut.* 17. 12. *Joh.* 1. 18. see *Philo.* in *Flacc. l.* 2. *c.* 3. and *damnation* by the Gospell; *he that resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God,* and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation, *Rom.* 13. 2. *Concil. chalced. et Trull. can.* 4. *Tolet.* 4. *Luess. Can.* 5. *II.* and without cause.

§ 11 For 1. War is not to be undertaken as they pretend for Religion; the Papists might know that *Peter* was bid long agoe to put up his sword; It being (as *Gregory a Prophet of their own* once said) an unheard of way of preaching to beat Men into a beleife; It's the erroneous his punishment (saith *Plato*) to be taught rather then to be murdered: M. *Anton. l.* 9. *valent in Am. marcel. l.* 30.

None ought to be compelled to become religious saith the counsell of *Tolet. c. de Jud. and Tertull*: : : 2.

2 War is not lawfull to fulfill prophecies; which are uncertain in themselves, and in the time of their accomplishment; and its not our duty to doe what is foretold, but what is commanded. *viz. Lunclau. Turc. Hist. l.* 18. *Procop. Persic.* 2.

3. The Pope hath no right over *Ireland*:

For

For 1. if Christs, (as *Pet. Dam.* saith) then his Vicars Kingdome is not of this world: 2. *Paul* would not, and therefore why doeth *Peter* meddle with them that are without: 3. A Bishop ought not to strike much more not to War for a Kingdome: 4. Our Kings enjoyed it as Lords, and then as Kings, time enough to prescribe three times over; being at first invited to it by the *Irish*: And then 5. if the Papists were oppressed, which they were not unlesse it were with indulgencies and favours, as that Champion in the olympick games was pressed to death with Roses; yet the *Pope* did ἀλλοτρίο ἐπισκοπεῖν medle foolishly in other Mens business; & subjects are not to redresse greivances by Wars, bnt by petitions, they are to beseech their Soveraigne, and not to force him.

§ 12 His Excellency might think it as reasonable and just as it was honourable to assist his Soveraign against the mighty who upon these forementioned unjust grounds, (which may better become the compleat *History of the Irish Rebellion*) assaulted his Majesties undoubted right to be bestowed by the Pope upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to endeavour under

der his Majesties authority to reduce the Rebellious to obedience, and punish the bloody murthers, it being a primitive constitution, that he that sheds mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed, *Constantine* upon this account made War against *Licinius*, and others made War against the *Persians*, *Zonar. et Menand. P. et Aq*; 2. 2. 108.

Command. § 13 And therefore as well satisfied in the lawfullnesse of his undertaking (as every Souldier ought to doe who carrieth his life in his hand, and may expect (as the *Theban* Souldiers (a pattern for all others) argued with *Julian*) to die daily, and ought not to submit his precious life to the lusts and will of others, which hath too much to do to serve its own divers lusts and pleasures, he heads a Regiment by the Lord-Deputies's Commission, (that great man who understood well whom he employed, who as curiously observed other mens worth as he carelessly neglected his own: and was choice in his instruments, because he was so in his designes and imployments, well knowing his great actions must be left to the management of great soules) and

and this is the firſt of thoſe publick undertakings wich are the ſubject of this diſcourſe.

§ 14 Wherein the firſt thing he was eminent for, was *Diſcipline*, without which Commanders lead thronged multitudes and not armies, and liſted routs rather than *Regiments*; he was not leſs carefull of morall than of the military *Diſcipline*, well knowing that that Souldiery will hardly vanquiſh an enemy that is vanquiſhed by its own debauchery, *Ireland* (they ſay) endures no poyſon, his Excellency would endure no dangerous exorbitancy to envenom his Regiment, nor any perverſe *Achan that would trouble his Camp*, and next the care of keeping his Souldiers *Men*, and reſtraining them (when going out of themſelves) within the compaſſe of humanity, he added that of making them Souldiers, that they might not be to *Learn* when they were to *perform* their duty. *Diſcipline.*

Turpe eſt in arte militarj dicere non putaram.

§ 15 Beſides that by his preparation the enemy might ſuſpect that thier plot was diſcovered, and by his readineſſe that it

it was prevented, when men did but *seeme* to ſuſpect an unknowne plot they have often diſcovered it, and withall few Souldiers brought together in a military poſture, as they can vanquiſh many out of order, ſo they can affright more; the often muſtering of Souldiers among a dangerous people, is not the leaſt part of their policy, who know what pannick feare armed multitudes ſtrike into the diſperſed vulgar.

Familiarity.

§ 16 His Excellencies ſolemn familiarity no *Mother* of contempt was obſervable, whereby he inſinuated himſelfe ſo far into his Souldiers affection that they could have wiſhed their lives doubled that they might have one life to ſpend for his perſon as they had one for his cauſe.

His Language with *Cæſar* was not *Milites*, but *Commilitones*, not Souldiers, but Fellow-Souldiers; nor was this out of any deſigne ſo much as out of nature, and that note of *Livy* tooke no place here, *Credant haud gratuitam in tanta majeſtate Comitatem fore*, that ſo much Majeſty never condeſcended without deſigne, nor was that of the *Comick* a good rule here; *Non temerarium eſt ubi dives*

dives blande appellat pauperem; altera manu fert Lapidem, panem oſtentat altera Nemini credo, qui longe blandus eſt dives pauperis.

§ 17 And when the ſad tim[illegible] that called for his actuall ſervice; [illegible] condition of *Ireland*, (now *without a Deputy*, (the laſt being beheaded; the ſad Prologue that uſhered in this Tragedy; the red morning of whoſe bloody death preſaged this tempeſt; as he *prophecyed* rather than *ſpoke* upon the Scaffold:) and by reaſon of the jealouſies at the ſame time ſtirred up between his late Majeſty and his Parliament by *Rome* and *Hell*; (one not daring to truſt the other to be charitable) *without ſupply and aſſiſtance*, grapling with the power of *Rome* from within, and from without from all the *Kings that had given their power to the Beaſt:*) kept his Excellency and other Worthies to the defenſive, and confined their care more how to ſave themſelves handſomely then how to ſubdue the enemy; which though their cauſe and valour prompted them to: (for *qui moleſtos arcet ex bona, Conſcientia ſumit fiduciam, bonaque ei ſpes adeſt, inde quod injuriam non inferat ſed auferat, Alex. orat. ad. mil. Herod.* 5.) yet their

prudence checked them from, with the prudent caution in the Goſpell of conſidering, *whether they were able with ten thouſand to hurt them that came againſt them with twenty thouſand*, for doubtleſſe ſuch and much greater was the ods, *between theſe two adverſaries*.

§ 18 Though his Excellency ſpent not that time he ſtayed there without ſome offenſive ſallies upon the enemy; we muſt *offend* ſometimes in our own *defence*, and give our enemies occaſion to complaine that we will not patiently lye open to their full ſtroke; as that *Roman* brought an action againſt a Man, *becauſe he received not his whole dart*.

§ 19 Yet he was moſt eminent then *upon neceſſity*, as he was ſince *upon deſigne* in a prudent reſervation of himſelfe; It being as great skill to ward off blowes, as to give them; he was as wiſe as that *Lewis* of *France* in preventing danger; who had foreſights to prevent miſchiefs when they were coming, but not a preſent prudence to engage them when come, though yet he was as ready in encountring dangers as that *Henry* of *England*, who could (as *Bacon* obſerves who drew his life with a pencill

as

is majestick as his Scepter) withready advice command present thoughts to encounter that danger with success which he could not with foresight prevent; he gave then, great signes of an admirable dexterity in mannaging disadvantages vvhich he hath since given full proofe of, vvhen he opposed himselfe against a *declining age:* engaging thousands with his single selfe.

§ 20. His stratagems were as considerable as any Mans in so narrow a command; for though force and terror be most proper to wars, yet we may lawfully use guile; *Sive dolo sive vj clamve Palamve Hom: Quicquid agendo Hostica delenda vis est Pind: dolus an virtus quis in hoste requiral virg.*

Your enemy you lawfully may spoyle,
Whether by open force or secret guile.

Bellandum est astu levior laus in duce dextra.

——Lesse praise I gaine,
By my strong hand I war with my
strong braine.

Silius l. 5. ex Polib. l. nono. xenoph. κυροπ: 1. *Thacid. l. 5. Martis comites iræ insidiæque virg. Elharba hudiatum* saith *Mahomet,* Wars must have some deceit, ὁ δόλοι οὐ ψεκτοι οἷα στρατιατικὸς *Eust ad Il. x. versu*

120. ſo honourable is it to be wiſe as Serpents, that Saint *Chryſoſtome* in his firſt Book *de Sacerdotio* pronounceth that Generall moſt praiſe-worthy that hath obtained his victory by ſtratagems.

§ 21 The other private particulars (that that Hiſtory may enquire into, which is due from after age to his bleſſed memory) will not beare thoſe grave obſervations which are deſigned in this diſcourſe for thoſe more publick; his performances in this lower ſpheare being ſwallowed up with thoſe of his ſuperiors as the glories of leſſer lights are undone at the appearance of a greater: Wherefore,

§ 22 I paſſe to the ceſſation made by his Majeſties order; and the alteration in his Excellencies affaires thereupon.

For the jealouſies forementioned being heightned to a War between his late Majeſty and his two Houſes of Parliament by their induſtry who are ſo well read in *Machiavell*, as to have learned that the beſt way to enjoy a Kingdome is to divide it; One ſide affirming our Government by a fundamentall conſtitution, a παμβασιλεία as *Ariſtotle*, a παντελὴς μοναρχία as *Sophocles* an αὐτοκρατὴς βασιλεία ἡ ἀνυπεύθυνος

as

as *Plutarch*, and an ἐξουσία αὐτοτελὴς as *Strabo* ſaith, an abſolute and full Kingdome, wherein his Majeſty was ἀνυπεύθυνος πόλει by no meanes obnoxious to his Subjects; being Supreame over all Cauſes and Perſons, accountable to none but to the bleſſed God, as the *Hebrew* Barnachman hath it, who (ſaith *Job*) ſhall ſay to Kings yee are wicked, or to Princes yee are ungodly.

The other ſide aſſerting our conſtitution mixt, and our Supreame power divided between the King, the Lords, and the Commons, as *Chalchondylos* formerly aſſerted of *England*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, vide *Plin. l. 6. c. 22.* and ſome new Politicians of late, who though they confeſſe, *that in the beginning Kings had all power*, as *Pomponius* and *Juſtine* out of him; yet afterwards (as *Tacitus* obſerves) the People eſtabliſhed Lawes which the King was to obey, *Tacit. 3. Annal. Cic. de rep. 1. et Feneſtell, 3. 2.*

And indeed we had the beſt conſtitution of a δημοκρατίαν ἀριστοκρατείᾳ μεμιγμένην as *Solon*, and an ἀριστοκρατείαν βασιλείᾳ as *Lycarg*, is by ſome made to ſpeak.

§ 23 But upon ſome diſcontents the

ſeverall powers claſhed and miſtruſted each other; and gave themſelves over to ſuch feares and jealouſies as put each raſhly upon thoughts of War which cannot be juſt unleſſe it be neceſſary; and therefore not to be undertaken, upon every cauſleſſe feare of uncertaine danger; But then there were ſome with *Attila*, that,

Cared not how the War begins,
If they could bring it to their ends.

This civil War was managed a while with variety of ſucceſs, that neither ſide ſhould either preſume or deſpaire.

§ 24 It pleaſed God his Majeſty ſuffered ſome diſadvantage at laſt, ſucceſſe being not commanded to attend the beſt cauſe here, nor miſcarrage the worſt, greatneſſe and goodneſſe, juſtice and victory being not yet married; there is ſo much ſecurity of the happineſſe of another life; that Chriſts Kingdome was not, and our hapineſs is not of this World; though many have been perplexed with that queſtion, *Cur bonis male ſit, why it fares ſo ill with the good*, yet a Bible well underſtood hath taught them, *that there is neither love nor hatred to be knowne by any thing under the Sun*; when we goe into the Sanctuary

we

we are taught that its unwarrantable to appeale to heaven for the deciſion of this or that controverſy by the ſucceſſe beſtowed upon this party or that cauſe, according to its righteouſneſſe and due merit.

Pluto in *Ariſtophanes* is commanded to be as favourable to the wicked as the good; becauſe if virtue were rich, ſhe ſhould be courted more for her dowry then for her beauty; ſo if Juſtice or Religion had the advantage of proſperity (we ſhould be apt to follow it as the common Souldiers, more for the prey then for the cauſe; Chriſt would be followed againe for loaves.

§ 25 His Majeſties unhappy affaires in *England*, made ſome alterations in his Councels; together with no leſſe unſeaſonable then unlawfull interpoſition of thoſe of *Scotland* in our affaires; for ſince civill ſociety was inſtituted; its certaine the Rulers of every one have attained a ſpeciall right (in which others have no ſhare) over their own Subject, ſo that in them onely reſides the ſupreame power of Judgement, whence there is no appeal ſaith *Thucydides*.

Nos

Nos quotquot hujus Colimus urbis mœnia,
Sufficimus ipſi noſtra judicia exequi: Heraclides:
Spartam tibi quæ contigit orna —— nobis fuerit Cura myſenæ: Proc. vandal 2. c. b. n. b. (although when Subjects ſuffer whats intollerable humane Society hath allowed, and prompted one Nation to aſſiſt another, ſo the *Romans* aſſiſted the *Perſians*; ſo the *Engliſh* ſuccoured the oppreſſed *Dutch* and *French.*)

§ 26 Theſe advantages prevailed with his Majeſty to order the honourable Marqueſſe of *Ormond* to bring the Rebels to a ceſſation upon the moſt advantageous termes: and to ſpare ſo many of his beſt Regiments for *Engliſh* ſervice; among whom his Excellencies is brought over as one every way accompliſhed for the exigence of thoſe times affaires; Neither needed his Majeſty make uſe of a *Quintili Varo redde legiones*; So compleat are his Companies, that he might reply to his Majeſty with reverence to our Saviours words, and of thoſe which you have given me, *I have hardly loſt one.*

§ 27 No ſooner was he and others landed on *Engliſh* ground, but they were entertained

entertained with a Surprize, by ſome Parliament Forces, before they had time to know which was their foe, which was their friend; For the Scene was altered and their noble hands were to be imbrued now in *Proteſtant*, and not in *Popiſh* blood; their ſwords were to be ſheathed no longer in *Iriſh*, but in *Engliſh* bowels; It had been ſome comfort had it been ſtrangers that they engaged with, but alas! it was with thoſe of their own and their Fathers houſe; It was wth their familiars, thoſe wth whom they had taken ſweet councell together, they of their own faith, one Baptiſme, and one hope, were their aid called againſt aliens, it were eaſy to reſolve, ſaith *Ariſtides Luctrica* 5. but a ſuddaine diſaſter prevented theſe debates, they being ſet upon by that Perſon whoſe undertakings were more ſuddaine then others thoughts, and ſometimes then his own.

§ 28 The Parliament were too well informed of theſe Regiments to give them the *ſtrengthning* advantage of *uniting* with the Kings main body, and better inſtructed in that maxime, *dum ſinguli pagnant vincuntur univerſi*, then to let them paſs without attempts upon them ſingly.

§ 29 His

§ 29 His Excellency and others were taken Priſoners, and had now nothing left them but the glory of ſuffering for his Majeſty, he is deprived of all thoſe things that make a Souldier, and now what remaines but thoſe prayers & teares that may make a Martyr; And in this capacity of a Priſoner did he remaine in the Tower ſo long as to ſee his Majeſty utterly defeated, impriſoned as himſelfe, (the anointed of the Lord was taken in their Nets, under whoſe ſhadow we ſaid we ſhould live in peace) yea and murthered too; to ſee Monarchy laid aſide, Parliaments forced, Lawes, Priviledges and Properties invaded by their own Patrons; and the veyle that the uncertaine Warre kept on the Rebells face, now by a certaine ſucceſſe drawn off: At their firſt entrance to *England* the *Iriſh* Forces were puzled; Againſt whom to direct their loyall Swords while each ſide was for the King, for Lawes, for Liberty, Property, and Religion; But now they were ſatisfyed in what they meant, that fought for his Majeſty againſt the King.

Now the whole World ſaw that they leaſt intended what they moſt pretended;

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν νοένω καὶ φράζομα *Homer* they that sit at our helme looked one way but rowed another, when they should make his Majesty glorious, they summon all the wit and malice of their side to make him infamous; when they should bring him to his Throne they bring him to the Scaffold, the Liberty they with much blood and treasure obtained for the Parliament is it seemes an unparalleld force; the Religion to be established are all the antiquated and condemned errours and heresies with the exploded Schismes that attended them, so many Religions that sober & unconcerned Spectators thought we had none, so easy is it in a throng of Religions to loose *Religion*.

§ 30 His Excellency saw how prosperity opened those Persons whom another condition kept close as mid day discloseth those shels whom night keepes shut, *advancement discovers a Man*; when *Appius* had his wish, *finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ*; he left wearing another mans Person: *maxima pars morem hunc homines habent, quid sibi volunt dum id impetrant boni sunt, sed id ubi jam penes sese habent, ex bonis pessimi, et fraudulentissimi sunt.*

Before

Before the man	What he would have
Had got his end	He thus obtained
He was all Puritan	*And then resumed knave*

§ 31 And now he was in love with his imprisonment, seeing cleerly by this time that good cause that consecrated his misery, advanced his Prison to a sanctuary, and his close retirement to a religious life, in the good company of his many honourable and reverend fellow-sufferers; his withering and tedious durance being deceived away by the happy alleviation of Society; wherein it was doubtfull whether he took or gave more content.

§ 32 There were no meane Persons then that buzzed in his Excellencies eare his Majesties neglect of him, in that upon the severall exchanges of Prisoners on both sides he was not thought off; It seemes there broke out through his concealement & obscure restraint that worth that was not by our grandees thought below their temptations.

But his Excellency was so well appointed with naked honesty, that he was proofe against all suggestions to disloyalty.

He that looked upon his service to his Majesty as its own encouragement, and upon

upon his loyalty as his own reward, ſtu-ed not a neglect, or contempt, his care was not ſo much what he was in others thoughts, as what he was in his own; *he is great that is juſt, good and great in his conſcience.*

And moreover his Majeſty was ſo beſet with malignant Courtiers that he could hardly ſee any Perſon in his own worth, without a malicious tincture from thoſe *mediums* they paſſed through; otherwiſe he knew the Sun beheld not a more gracious Maſter to condeſcend humbly to take notice of his ſubjects ſervice, to acknowledge it gratefully, and to reward it liberally.

His Excellency was not ignorant how coldly the renowned *Montroſſe* was entertained for thoſe ſervices that were then (without diſparagement to any) unparallelled; and have not been ſince ſeconded by any but thoſe of his own.

But now he and three Nations have reaſon to think it was not his Majeſty but God that delayed his releaſement; reſerving him for better ſeaſons, wherein it might pleaſe him to make uſe of his Excellency; when rebellion had run

run to the end of the line, and the *iniquities* of the *Amorites* became full: And it was time to check ſucceſſefull villanies that bluſtered in the World, caſting terror round about, and threatning Heaven and Earth; and to vindicate oppreſſed right and afflicted innocence.

Periiſſem (might he ſay) *niſi periiſſem*: I had been undone had I not been undone, for had he been releaſed probably he might have partaked in ſome of the ſtragling undertakings of thoſe times which provoked as unhappy to his Majeſties cauſe as to the undertakers; for theſe ſlight endeavours kept together their divided adverſaries with the common danger, and hardned them with their miſcarriage; for they now thought that ſucceſs hallowed their villanies; *Honeſta ſcelera ſucceſſus facit, Sen:* Whereas if Men had ſtood ſtill, the fury of the Rebels had been ſpent upon themſelves, for as they ſay wine muſt be fed with fleſh, otherwiſe it will devour its own ſtrength, ſo uſurpation muſt have an adverſary up for a *fomes* to its power, otherwiſe (as we have ſince ſeen) its like to feed upon its ſelfe; wherfore *who knowes not* that his Excellency

was

was reſerved *for ſuch a time as this.*

§ 33 And although he had been ſlighted by his Majeſty, (which was not impoſſible, conſidering the *evill councell* about his Majeſty (that betrayed him to his friends and foes) *againſt whom* he *himſelfe* had as great cauſe to raiſe a War as his *Parliament:*) yet that his enemies who durſt not put him to death (it being againſt equity ſaith *Sen. ep.* 1. & *Alexander in Plutarch*, againſt the Law of War ſaith *Saluſt.* in his *Jugurt Hiſtory*, and great cruelty ſaith *Diodorus Siculus l.* 17. againſt the cuſtome of War ſaith *Cæſar l.* 2. *de belle Gallico: Taul. Anali.* 12. to murther Priſoners *quos mars reliquit prælio ſuperſtites Eurip.*) entruſt him with liberty is the eternall Monument for his worth and faithfulneſſe; this was a Man (as his late Majeſty ſaid of that honourable *Strafford*) that *even Principalities and Powers that would not truſt might feare.*

§ 34 Upon the *Parliaments* unhappy ſucceſſe, Men of dangerous deſigne and looſe Principles, uſurping Supreame power: 1. From the Sword, when moſt that fought in this unhappy War proteſt they fought not for power but for Liberty.

berty: 2 From the people when though they are not Servants by nature, as *Arist.* would have it, yet neither are they all Masters, for who then would obey? or if they had the power, all the World knows that they would otherwise dispose of it then to these Persons) Proceed (as its usuall after civill Wars) against the Kings party as Traytors for their loyalty; whose carriage in the War could not be treason against their Government, which they acknowledge is the issue of the War: and now searching Prisons they chose out the chiefe for exemplary justice (as the fattest commonly falls a Sacrifice) and shed the blood of War in the time of peace; and *revenged themselves*, (1. Inhumanely saith *Sen.* 2. Unjustly as they were injured, saith *Tyrius*, yea beastly saith *Plut.* for saith he, Beasts bite him that bites, see *Grotius, de bello et pace part.* 2. *p.* 80:) Upon his sacred Majesty (though they were checked with a *Touch not mine anoynted:* and *though no Man* 1 Sam. 26. 9. *could lay hands upon the Lords anoynted and be guiltlesse*;) and upon the flower of the Nobility and Gentry that had escaped their fury in the Field.

§ 35. His

§ 35 His Excellency being a younger Brother had not eſtate enough to make his offences capitall; yet had too much worth to be at liberty, and to be an enemy; there appeared it ſeemes in his ſingle Perſon what whole Nations might be afraid of.

Therefore *Cromwell* that had Souldier enough in him to underſtand a Souldier takes the advantage of his Excellencies *ſolitude* for a temptation, and aſſaults him with an *all this will we give you*; withall adding (as moſt commonly his ſpeeches had a ſting in the tayle) that there was no leſſe could purchaſe his Liberty of the Parliament then his ſervice.

§ 36 His Excellencies thoughts are now divided between two equall inconveniencies, uncertaine how to guide a diſcreet choice; to continue himſelfe in Priſon (now he might be enlarged upon the inauguration of theſe new powers) were ſullenly to put himſelfe beyond all hope of being ſerviceable to himſelfe, his cauſe, his Countrey; to goe and ſerve his ſucceſſefull adverſaries, and to abet proſperous villany with the ſame hands he once withſtood it were to betray his former actions, and condemne himſelfe: not without ſome ſuſpition of time-ſerving,

as if with that Marquesse of *Winchester* he had been made rather of the complying *willow*, then of the royall and *solid oake*; ready alwayes for the prevailing side.

§ 37 Upon a sober debate with himselfe (for War must be *once* well thought on, wherein they say a *Man cannot erre twice*) though morals by reason of the variety of unexpected circumstances are so uncertaine that its χαλεπὸν διακρίνειν *Arist.* 1. *eth. Cic.* 1. *et* 3. *et. Rhodius l.* 2. *c.* 3. and *quod dubitas ne feceris* saith *Pliny l.* 1. *ep.* 19. *covar. de mal. c.* 7. *p.* 2. *n.* 9. what is not of faith is sin saith the holy Ghost *Rom.* 14. 23. if a Man doth any thing and doubts he is damned:) yet partly by the strength of his own great reason; partly by the advice of his Oracles whom he had ready to consult with in all emergencies; (Its *most excellent* to be able to direct ones selfe, saith *Minutius* out of *Hesiod*, next to follow the good directions of others, *vasq; disp.* 62. *c.* 3. *n.* 10. *victor. de Judic. relat.* 1. *n.* 12. Σόφοι τύραννοι δὴ σοφῶν Συνουρία the company of wise men brings learning and wisdome unto Kings; The *Roman* Emperours undertook no War without the advice of *Fæciales*, nor the Christian without their Bishops saith *Grotius bell. et pac. p.* 1[illegible]. 117.) he left it to posterity

posterity, *that betwixt two evils his Excellency could doe well.*

§ 38 For with the consent of his best friends; with the blessing of his reverend Confessour the L. B. of E. with the approbation of his own heart (*and if our hearts condemne us not we have confidence towards God*) He listed himselfe under the *Par.* for the Ks. service, professing (as I am credibly informed) to the B. of *E.* that as he expected Heavens blessing with his Lordships, he now served his enemies only for his friends advantage; And methinkes the reverend Father, with other his noble and reverend fellow-prisoners bespeak him as *David* doth *Hushai* the *Arbite*, 2 *Sam.* 15. 32, 33, 16, 17, 18, 17, 14. 'If you continue with us, you will be a 'burden to us as we are to you, but if you 'return, and say unto these younger pow-'ers, I will be your servant, as I have 'been a servant to the powers before you 'so will I also be yours; then may you 'defeat the councell of their *Achitophels*; 'Have you not with you also *Zadock* and '*Abiathar* the Priests (two reverend Per-'sons, whom had I time to goe and aske 'their leaves, I would mention to the 'World not without due prefaces of ho-'nour,) & me thinks when some enemies

'were ready to say is this your kindnesse 'to your friend? why would you not goe 'with your friend? he might reply as 'well as *Hushai* and no better, whom the 'Lord, and this people, and all the Men of '*Israel* chose, his will I be, and with him 'will I abide.

And we have seen how by the councell of our Hushai, *the Lord had appointed to defeate the good councell of eminent* Achitophels *to the intent that the Lord might bring evill upon these* Absaloms; The incomparable *Grotius* out of L. *sec.* 1. *de dolo malo*, saith it was too crudely spoken by *Cicero* that *our* whole conversation ought to be altogether free from simulation or dissimulation; without which we cannot live among those that are wise in their own generation; so lawfull is it (as *Thom.* 2. 229. 40. or 3. 9. 7. *artic. silv: in verbo bell. p.* 1. *n.* 9. decides the question out of St. *Augustine* upon the fifth *Psalm*) to cast the vayle of dissimulation, not that ἀπάτη but εἰκὼν μέα, that compliance and dispensation as Saint *Chrysost.* calls it over the face of truth, that God himselfe seemes sometimes to goe along with successefull wretches in the pursuit of their lower designes while he mannageth the eternall councell of his own will, thus *Paul* harmlesly becomes all things

things to all Men that he might gaine some; although ὁ, χριστιανὸς, as well as ὁ μεγαλοψυχὸς, ought to be παπασιαστικὸς καὶ ἀλτιθεωτικὸς a Man in whome there is no guile, and if it were possible to deale openly with all Men.

§ 39 But his Excellency besides was not to learne that usefull Men must not withdraw their service from their Countrey to spight Usurpers: we must goe on each in our place to keep up Law, peace, and order according to an Usurpers will; though not for his Authority, but for publick good, which is the onely Soveraignty we are under in the absence of the *Lawfull Magistrate ordained of God*; provided we contribute as little as vve can for the establishing of the Usurpers; *Cyllas* Lavves vvere of povver saith *Quint. l.* 2. *c.* 1. so far as the state of the Citty vvas contained in them; that it could not stand (as *Florus* upon those Lawes) if they were dissolved, see *Saurez. de legib. l.*3. *c.* 10. *n.*9.

§ 40 And now not onely *Ireland*, but *England* called like the *Macedonian*, come and help us; for *they that turned the World upside down were almost come hither also*: *Campanella Cotzen*, and *Richleu* in their politicks having long since made *Ireland* a passage into *England*; so its not so much

an order of Parliament, as a law of nature dictated by common safety and publick good that seemes to command him over into *Ireland*; which must not be neglected for any private quarrell; *Themistocles* and his *Antagonist* left their private grudges at home; when they were employed abroad for publick service; if the intelligences were removed, their own (they say) and the Worlds interests would turn the Spheares.

§. 41 Its true the Rebels pretended a League with his Majesty, and therefore they should be rather succoured then opposed by his friends: But the wise knew that had his Majesties subjects helped these Rebels to a conquest over the Parliament, they had helped them to a conquest over themselves, for they were as impatient of a Protestant Monarchy, as of a Free state or rather more, for this was thought to be of their own designe and contrivance; and the other the object of their malice and antient hatred. His Majesty himselfe though much perswaded by his Mother, could not be prevailed with to joyne with those in *Ireland*; for though *Thucydides* say the *Athenians* did well in a case of necessity to seek aide not onely of the *Grecians* but of the *Barbarians*; Yet me-

thinks

thinks I heare *Fulco of Remes in Fred. l. 4. Hist. Rhemensi c. 6.* admonishing our *Charles* as he did another; who may not be afraid seeing you covet amity with the enemies of God; and to the overthrow of the Protestant name take unto you Popish armes, and enter into Leagues detestable, they are great offenders saith *Alexander* in *Arrianus*, who serve the *Barbarians* against the *Greekes*, contrary to the Lawes of *Græcia*; shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, 2 Chron. 19. 2. *O King let not the arme of* Israel *goe with thee, for the Lord is not with* Israel, *nor with any of the Children of* Ephraim, 2 Chron. 25. 7. *Be yee not unequally yoked with misbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousnesse with unrighteousnesse, what communion hath light with darknesse,* 2 Cor. 6. 1. 15.

§ 42 His Excellency resolves (upon the termes proposed by the Parliament) for the *Irish* service in the capacity of a Collonel of Foot; but first he must take the engagement; when usurpation hath ravished just power, it usually supports it selfe with the two Pillars of Armes and Oathes; a good Man feareth an oath, and therefore his Excellency, upon mature deliberation made a promise equall to an

oath: (for a noble soule of πίστεως, βεβαιότητος as the *Persians*, such *bonæ fidei* as *Augustus*, that ὁμοίως τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὁμολογίας ὥσπερ τὰς ἐν ὅρκοις διαφυλάττων *Isoc. de evag. Gunther. Leg. &c.* Its word is as strong as its oath:) that he would be true and faithfull to the Common-wealth without a King or House of Lords; and he is not a Man that would not be faithfull to the interest, Common-wealth, and good of his own Nation as well without as with a King; which was the primary, favourable, proper and significant import of that ingagement to the best judgements of that time.

§ 43 He is no sooner made sure, but he is sent by that Man of dispatch, O. C. (into whom the old Emperour of Germany thought *Gustavus Adolphus* his hasty soul was got by a metempsuchosis) with *Reynolds* and others to *Chester*, and thence wafted over by a favourable gale immediately to *Dublin*, and made his way resolutely through the thickest of his enemies to relieve the distressed City; where they staid not long but impatient both of restraint and delay; they sally out for more elbow-room with that successe that they had the pursuit of the enemy for many miles, untill they came upon my Lord of

of *Ormond*'s whole Army ready for an overthrow, ſuch was their confuſion and diſorder.

The honourable Lord of *Ormond* unhappily thus aſſociated, being betrayed to that ſecurity that he is playing at Tables, and his Army and cauſe lyes at ſtake.

After this Victory theſe lower Commanders are carried about with the rapid motious of O. C. that violent firſt mover, who upon his firſt arrivall *Jehu-like* drave furiouſly towards *Trogedah* with all his Forces; took the place by ſtorm, and ſpared neither Man, Woman, nor Child, Indeed throughout he was reſolved to uſe the higheſt right and law of War; which after ages may dare to call an injury; ſtrangers were not ſpared, for by the Law of War ſtrangers upon an enemies ground is an enemy, *Philo. de judice ex vetere Oraculo. Malcho excerp. legis:* nor ſacred Perſons, my Lord *Broghil* hanged a Biſhop (notwithſtanding the common clamour for their Father in God) with an *hæc ſunt veſtimenta patris:* no native eſcaped the ſeverall parts juſtly ſuffering for the guilt of the whole: Its lawfull to continue the puniſhment of a guilty Nation; for one generation after its fault, *Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 13. Liban. orat. de ſedit. Ant.* Yet its

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the generall Law of War (if yet it have any law, and it be not true what that rath head blurted that martiall Law was as absurd as martiall peace) *Hostis sit ille et qui extra præsidia, &c. Liv. 37. Baldus 1. de just. Bembus Hist. 7.* mercy, sanctuary, &c. are say the Souldier, for *the miserable rather then for the guilty, venet. de Asylis Thu. 1585. Cambd. Eliz. 1593. and we tooke all his Cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the Men, and the Women, and the little ones, and we left none to remaine, Deut. 2. 34. Ps. 137. ult.* But with this flux of blood, they said they stopped a greater; *Sanguinis fluxum diffusa venula revocamus Tert.*

The very report of this siege reduced all *Ireland:* for immediately the two next Garrisons *Trim* and *Dundalk* are quitted; such a pannick fear seizing upon the Souldiers, that they were not able to endure a *summons:* this successe is seconded with the taking of *Werford, Rosse, Kingsale, Corke, Youghal, Bandon-bridge, Barrow,* and *Duncannon, Enistroge, Carricke, Waterford;* and now *Cromwell* no sooner seeth a Citty or an Army, but he conquers it; In the meane time his Excellencies particular honour was involved in that great renown of the Generall; whatever glory he acquired it *was* as the *Civilians* say for his Master.

1644. *Ireland* now acknowledging a conquest in ten months, (for they were there but from the midle of *August*, 1649. to the next *May*, 1650.) which ten Ages formerly durst not boast of; They return by order of Parliament to *England* to assist them in those dangers that threatned them on every side; especially from *Scotland* that had ingaged it selfe by a late Treaty at *Breda* to assist his sacred Majesty.

In bringing the Murtherers of his late Father of blessed memory to condigne punishment.

In recovering his royall right.

1645. *Cromwell* being to goe for *Scotland*, (the House having now concluded that the War should be offensive; and my Lord *Fairfax* laying down his Commission) makes choice of his Excellency for one of his Commanders in that desperate expedition; which he willingly undergoeth when he heard the quarrel stated by *Ashley* upon the account of the *Old Cause*; and not upon the account of the King whom they disowned, as one sticking too close to his Fathers sins forsooth; his House & Friends: Judging souls thought that War was for his Majesty rather then against him, that *Cromwell* there was loyall; and that it was a great courtesy for

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our Soveraign to be conquered, leaſt a ſad ſucceſſe had gained him a Kingdome with the loſſe of Religion, Law, and Liberty, however his Excellency thought it unreſonable to ſee his Native Countrey ſubmit its Law and Religion to the ſawcy impoſition of a neighbour Nation that had been indeed often taught to take Lawes from us; but never to give us any.

§ 46 When his Excellency was in *Scotland*, jealous *Oliver* joynes with him *Lambert* and *Okey* to watch his thoughts, words and actions, and to check him from any deſigne of loyalty; which he diſcreetly obſerved, and therefore managed each action committed to his truſt, as that againſt the *Highlanders*, *Dundee*, *&c.* with ſuch reſolution as made him beleeved cordiall to the cauſe, and able for ſervice, and therefore advanced him to the command of Lievtenant Generall in *Scotland*; It was his honeſt ambition to be eminent in every thing he undertook, ſo he hoped at laſt to arrive at that power that might ſway Kingdomes to a compliance with his Majeſties intereſt, as ſucceſsfully as he ſaw them now ſwayed againſt it.

§ 47 And therefore when his Majeſty marched for *England* by the way of *Carliſle*, he refuſed to follow him, and choſe rather

rather to compleat former victories in *Scotland* as Commander in chiefe, then to gaine new ones in *England* under *Oliver*: Therefore waiting anxiously betwen hope and feare upon his Majesties successe in *England*, he took care to reduce *Scotland* into a subjection to the Parliament untill an opportunity offered it self of restoring it to the King, who had utterly lost it had not he lost it.

§ 48 But no sooner were the *Scots* Wars finished, but *Holland* threatneth us. 1 Partly upon his Majesties account being engaged to his assistance: 1 By the Prince of *Orange*: 2 By Admirall *Vantrump* who had not forgot the high honours bestowed upon him in *England* in the year 1641. 3 By an overture made between his late Majesty of blessed memory, and their Embassadour the night before his death; Partly upon their own account claiming a right in our Seas which we for times out of mind were taught to * deny them.——

See *Fleta* and *Selden* notes upon it; see *Draytors Polyalbyon*, *Grotius de jure belli et pacis* of propriety; see *Saxon* Lawes in *Spelm* and *Selden*: *Just.* and *Theod. Codes*: the *Danish* Lawes in the exact Collect of *Beccius*: *Whitlockes observat. &c.*

§ 49 His Excellency is called upon from

* See Gratium in mare lib. Seld. mare Clous Strinb. Mar. Com. Greg. Thol. jur. reg. Franc. prop. L. L. quæ propria ulpian l. o. L. L. quæ communiæ: vid servium in 12 Æn. virg. Eustach. in il. n. n. 220.——

from *Scotland* to Sea in joynt commission with *Blake*, and *Deane*, he willingly submits knowing he was to engage for the right of his native *Country*, I meane the dominion of the narrow Sea, which belonged to *England* as a hedge (so the Sea is called in *Europ*, and most Poets since out of him) belongs to the incloſure, and indeed is the beſt of its enjoyments.

§ 50. He being at ſome loſſe in Sea affaires diſcovers as much wiſedome in making uſe of other Mens skill, as others did in acting by their owne; others direct he encourageth, and ſpirits the dull Sea-men to action; to paſſe by the meaner paſſages his moſt ſolemn performance was the laſt engagement with the *Dutch* for which the Parliam. honour him with a gold chaine, and oblige him by a command over the Army in *Scotland*; which he underwent willingly, ſo ſecuring to himſelfe and his Maſter one Kingdome while now an Uſurper ſwallows up two.

§ 51 Being come to *Scotland* he takes care that the councell who were in joynt power with him, ſhould be Men of ſolid Principles and good intereſt, & if he muſt be troubled with ſome fanaticks, they were ſome ſoft, eaſy and quiet Men that ſtood for cyphers, and were only to fill up

number, and not to maintain a party.

§ 52 He takes care to reſtraine that *Scottiſh* ſpirit that is never quiet Conqueror nor conquered; and remembring what ſad uſe they had made of former indulgencies, proceeds with force and rigour, reſolving that they ſhould *really fear* him, who he knew would never *really love* him.

§ 53 He diſarmed, impriſoned, and innocently trappanned them, (though none of them ſuffered the leaſt upon his account in ſtate or life) and ſo amuſed the cunning *Scot*, with active policy, that he had ſcarce time to think of plots, or to contrive villany.

§ 54 And when ſome Loyall perſons under the honourable *Middleton*, attempted ſomething 1654. he eaſily ſubdued them, firſt *dividing* and then *conquering* them; he was as ready to ſuppreſs thoſe men that attempted any thing *Inconſiderately* for his Majeſty, as he hath been ſince to incourage them when they attempted any thing ſoberly: It was about that time *Oliver* would have had him out of *Scotland*, and therefore had not he oppoſed his Majeſty then, probably he had not been in a capacity to reſtore him now.

55 In

§ 55 In *Scotland* he impartially executed all Lawes enacted by the Supreame power in *England* tending to the peace & welfare of that Nation: so that his severities had not formerly enraged them more than his justice obligeth them, and therefore *Oliver* omitted no opportunity to tempt him out of *Scotland*, by calling him to the other house, &c. which temptations he dextrously put off (choosing (with *Cæsar*) rather to be first in *Scotland* than 3d. or 4th. in *England*) so that the Usurper was heard often to say "that he could do many things were *G. M.* out of *Scotland*: And if I am not deceived by knowing and good men, the Usurper upon his death-bed (when he was urged to name his successour) professed, *It was in vain to set up a Protector in* England *for* George Monck *would bring a King out of* Scotland.

MODERN

MODERN POLICY.

The Second Part.

ALthough upon *Cromwel*'s death, it was thought, the awe (whereby he checked the private designes of each party to an homage to his own) was so happily removed; that the severall Grandees would now publickly pursue their aime at that Supremacy, to which each of them was willing to advance *Cromwell* first (one daring enough to break the ice to an usurpation)

Sect. His Excellencies behaviour upon *Cromwel*'s death.

that they themſelves might be his Seconds: and becauſe (as *Seneca* ſaith) *ſceleta diſſident*, their villainous Enterpriſes would interfer and claſh, each of them reſolving to admit neither equall nor ſuperiour; it was thought honeſt men might have opportunities to joyn together in vindication of lawfull Soveraignty and publick Right, while the Theeves and the (*a*) publick Robbers (as the Pirates told *Alexander*) fell out about oppreſſion and wrong; *Take off the common Principles in which Rebels agree, and the common perſons that keep them together with thoſe Principles, their variety of humors and intereſts bring them immediately to a diviſion, and then to a ruine*, *Machiavel. Kings l. 2. c. 3.* on *Livy l. 6. c. 2. ſect. 3.* Theſe *Rods* that have lain ſo long upon our backs might be ſingly broken, when they could not be broken united, and in a bundle.

a *Magna Latrocinia.*

But *Cromwell* taking as much care to *keep* uſurped power as he took to *gain* it: *—Nec minor eſt virtus quærere quam tueri*: and being a man of ὑπὲρ αὐτὸς ἐμβυλίας, as *Ariſt. de An. l. 2. c. 1. Etk. 4. c. 3.* of deſires as vaſt as his thoughts, and

and as boundleſs as his ſoul: ἀϊδιος ἀτιμήτος as *Iamblichus Carm. 6.* And therefore its pitty (as *Socrates* ſaith) that great and good have been ſeparated) he ſecured not the Government with more policy to himſelf then he doth to his Heires after him for ever! for (naming his Son *Richard* Succeſſor, according to a power cunningly gained by him from the Parliament in a Petition and Advice 1656.) he contrived him an impregnable intereſt; firſt in *Ireland*, by his Brother *Henry* made there Lord Deputy: ſecondly in *Scotland*, by a Councell and an Army, made up, for the moſt part, either of Relations, or of Fanatiques, or of New-purchaſers of the Kings, Queens, and Biſhops Lands, all equally engaged to the Uſurper: thirdly in *England*, 1. by a Councell made up of his Fathers own Creatures: 2. An Army under his Brother in Law *Fleetwood* Commander in chief; his Uncle *Desborough* as Major Generall, and ſeverall other Relations of his in great command; ſo that his *Army* was like that of *Abrams, of his own houſe*: 3. The City awed by a pack of Sectaries, under one *Io. Ireton* a Creature of his, ſince the marriage of his

Brother *Henry* with *Oliver*'s Daughter. 4. The Countrey people generally ſo much pleaſed with the obliging carriage, to which *Oliver* politickly brought him up, that they generally ſaid, *If we muſt needs have an Uſurper, we will be content to have him.*

Sect. His Excellency ſaw *Richard* ſo well ſettled, that to attempt any thing againſt ſo well layed a Government, in the behalf of his moſt Sacred Majeſty, had been but to hazard the beſt Cauſe, with his own and his Friends perſons and fortunes, againſt a tide, which ſwelling higher by the oppoſition, would quickly have overwhelmed them: And therefore he ſubmitted himſelf to a compliance with the Power then in being; acting by its authority; knowing (as *Grotius* ſaith, *jure belli & pacis* p. 1. c. 73.) *That the acts of empire which an Uſurper exerciſeth may have power to oblige, not out of his right, which is none, but becauſe its better his Commands ſhould prevail and be of force, then utter confuſion be brought in; the Laws and Judgements being taken away;* See *Suarez. leg. l. 3. c. 10. n. 7. vid. de poteſt. civ. n. 23.* And ſo his Excellency went

went on with the Uſurper, ſtrengthening the hands of the evill doer for publique good, while he was weakening him in private intereſt: We may obſerve in Nature, that the ſeverall parts of it, though they are ordinarily true and faithfull to their ſtanding rule, law, and duty, (the light going upwards and the heavy downwards, &c.) yet they are allowed to comply with a violence, that brings them out of their place & order, againſt their inclination and law, to fill up ſuch chaſmes, and ſupply ſuch vacuities as may endanger the diſſolution of the whole.

Beſides, I think really his Excellency, together with our Gracious Soveraign, had rather the Invader ſhould be left in poſſeſſion, then occaſion given to ſuch dangerous and bloudy commotions, as they both trembled at the thoughts of, which yet muſt neceſſarily follow upon any violence againſt thoſe men, who have ſtrong Factions on their ſide at home, and as ſtrong Confederacies abroad. It was their opinion, *χεῖρον εἶναι μοναρχίας παραυτίκα πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον*, *Plutarch*: Or as *Favonius* hath it, *Civill War is worſe then unlawfull Government. Mihi pax omni cum civibus bello civili*

utilior videtur, Cic. *Titus Quintus* thought it better the Tyrant *Nubis* had been let alone at *Lacedemon*, when he could not otherwise be thrown down, but with the ruine of the Common-wealth, likely to perish in vindication of her Liberty: For (as *Aristophanes* hath it) *A Lion is not to be bred in a City; but if he be brought up he must be kept:* For indeed we *nec morbum ferre possumus nec remedium*, *Liv.* Yea, we were so unfortunately sick, that we feared, *plus periculi a medico quam a morbo*: For though Usurpation falls heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloudy consequences of an intestine War are worse spreading and permanent.

Sect. His Excellency was as carefull to keep others within an usefull moderation and prudence, as he was to act according to it himself; and therefore upon *Oliver's* death He and the Councel make an Order:

That there be none brought from beyond the Seas to *Scotland*, and that none be carried from *Scotland* beyond

beyond the Seas, without ſpeciall leave, and a Paſſe. That there be no unuſuall meetings of Perſons dangerouſly affected to the Peace of that Nation, *&c.*

And ſeized upon ſeverall perſons dangerouſly buſie about his Majeſties Affairs in that Kingdome; whereby he at once ſeemed to be very cordiall againſt his Majeſties intereſt, and for that of the Uſurpers; and really did his Majeſty the beſt ſervice imaginable, and his Friends the greateſt curteſie: 1. Reſtraining them from thoſe attempts which had been their ruine: *Æquum non eſt* (ſaith *Stallius*) *ut ſapiens diſipientium cauſu in pericula & turbas ſe conjiceat*: See *Nehem.* 9. 27.

2. And withdrawing from the Uſurper that advantage which he made of ſuch vain and empty oppoſitions, towards his own eſtabliſhment and ſettlement; who knows not that *Oliver* was advanced to that height

we ere while admired and feared, by those plots which he subtlely contrived, and others were foolishly trapanned to? by whose discovery and defeat he rendered himself formidable, and by sly insinuations, of what danger the Government, and the three Nations were in, by reason of them, prevailed with his Conventions to secure the Common-wealth, by promoting his power daily, upon the occasion of one pretended Plot after another, untill he screwed himself up to the power of the most absolute Monarch in *Europe*.

His Excellency thought that monstrous Power would fall away of it self, which might be held up and strengthened by opposition; A *Lacedemonian* in *Plutarch* when he read, *Hos dum Marte parant dominatum extinguere, sævus ante saliuntis Mania mors rapuit*; added, *Merito viri illi periere; expectare enim debuerunt, ut ipse per se dominatus conflugraret.*

Sect. His acquiescing in *Richards* free Parliament.

In the mean time he resolved to acquiesce discreetly in the determination of the free and full Parliament, which *Richard* and his Councell were happily necessitated to call; towards the right constitution of which,

which, he contributed much in the choice of such Parliament men for *Scotland*, as the Malignant party in *England* would not have willingly admitted to the House; who when they entered, assisted the Honest party in such counsels as would have *brought down* the power which *Oliver set up* with so much bloud and treasure, in the twinkling of an eye, without any noise or stir: wherefore they were suddenly after dissolved by the Army, with a consent that *Richard* gave to it: ἔκων ἀεκῶντιγε θυμῷ·

Although his Excellency was sorry to see such unwarrantable violence offered to a free Parliament, made up of the honourable Representatives of three Nations; yet he was pleased to see that vast Power taken from *Cromwel's* Family, by the same Authority that gave it them, even before a third Heir enjoyed it: He so well foresaw the future establishment of these Nations, through these severall revolutions (as the establishment of a fair World out of a Chaos) that he stuck not in an Address to the Parliament (whom the Army had invited to reassume their power, which they had once forced them from, and now looked upon as the onely Authority that could

could serve their turn and interest) to say, that *the Nation* was then *born in a day.*

Sect. His carriage towards the long Parliament when recalled.

When those Members that the Army had called in, refused the admission of the secluded Members, those worthy Patriots, that were resolved to doe their King and their Countrey right; when they resolved to usurp the Government, denying the Nation their priviledge of being governed by a free and full Parliament, and siding with a company of Sectaries and desperate persons, that were engaged to ruine our Church and State, neglected our honourable Nobility, our worshipfull Gentry, our reverend Clergy, and in a word slighted three Kingdomes, and with their assistance awe us with Militia's, and oppress us with Assessments so farre, to the discontent of the whole Nation, that they agree upon a generall Insurrection upon the first of *August*; but upon some discoveries made by the unhappiness of the Honourable the Lady *Howard* (whose Sex was not capable of that secrecy which her Loyalty might be intrusted with) and others, they were prevented in most places, save onely in

in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Wales*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Philip Egerton*, &c. by reason of their distance from the Parliament and Army, got together such a considerable party, that alarumed the whole Army under *Lambert*, and an Irish Brigade besides, to march towards them; whom his Excellency beheld favourably, and had they brought their design to any issue, he would have assisted to bring those refractory Members at *Westminster* to some reasonable termes: Although he would not have engaged against those Members, (being obliged unto them, and thinking not with *Cicero*, that a man may break his oath with theeves; or with *Brutus* in *Appion*, That ἐδὲν πιστὸν ἐστι Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τυράννους, ἐδ' ἔνορκον, That *the Romans esteem no faith, yea nor oath to be kept with Tyrants,*) yet would he have used his interest with them to reduce them to a Moderation.

T. Fregis fidem.

A. quàm neque dedi, neque do Infideli cui periam. Accuis.

But upon Sir *George Booth's* overthrow, *Lambert*, blown up with the success, sores high, and contrives, that the Army now highly caressed by him, with the thousand pound

Sect. His design upon Sir *G. Booth's* rising.

pound sent by the Parliament to buy him Jewell, *&c.* should stickle for his Honour to be Commander in chief of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the next step to the Protectorship of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and that the Parliament, in case they denied it, should be dissolved; which he saw done accordingly.

Sect. His resolution against the Armies Arbitrary power.

Whereupon *Lambert* calling together his Counsel of Officers, makes sure of a correspondence with the Army in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and therefore dispatcheth Collonel *Barrow* for *Ireland*, and Collonel *Cobbet* to General *Monck*; who though he was a Member of the Army, yet was he likewise a Servant to the Parliament; and of two Confederates he is to be preferred that hath a just cause of warr. The *Athenians* were to assist their fellows the *Messenians* against their other fellows the *Lacedemonians*, *Dem. Orat. de Megalep.* Methinks I hear his Excellency replying to Collonel *Cobbet*'s Message, as the *Aeonans* did to the *Spartans*, *Amicis auxilia ferenda contra hostes non contra Amicos*; *vid. fidel. Tubal. l. 4. c. 31. l. 7. Ptolem. apud Appianum*

Appianum in leg. exceptis: Or with him in *Alexandrides.*

Ego esse vester non queam Commilito,
Quando nec leges nec mores Consentiunt
Sed multis inter se Convallis discrepant.

Vid. Orat. Partaza ad Lazos apud Agath. l. 3. c. 2. n. 6.

The noble Generall, according to his instructions from *London*, secures *Cobbet*; at once preserving his Army from such dangerous insinuations as that person brought along with him thither; and to cut off all the advantages the Army in *England* might have of the information he might carry home with him. *Sect.*

Its true an Embassadour is *per sæcula populis sanctum nomen Papin. & Pompon. l. si quis D. de legat.* yea, *Sancta sunt corpora legatorum var. l. 3. de l. Tutius regressus legato Radevic. append. de Polon. morian. l. 12. de mauris*; so that they were not to be violated in life, limb, estate, or liberty; for it is *contra jus legatorum, legatos in vinculis habere Menand. de Iust. 2. Imp.* He imprisons *Cobbet* the Armies Messenger.

But Collonell *Cobbet* is rather a Messenger

ger of a Faction of Subjects, then a proper Embassadour of the Supreme power, and therefore he must not claim the right of an Embassadour: It's the peculiar prerogative of Majesty, and Supreme Authority (saith *Dion. Hulicarn.*) to create Magistrates, to make Laws, to make Warre and Peace, and to send Embassadours.

Legates must not be received from *Antony*, for saith *Cicero*, *In that Case we have not to doe with* Hannibal, *an enemy of the Common-wealth, but with one of our own Countrey.* Nobly doth the Generall imprison him, who brought along with him the face of a Faction, and the authority of Rebels; who would have honoured him, *Si senatus faciem secum attulerat, auctoritatem reip.* Cic. Philip. 7.

Sect. Hemodels his Army.

And then his Excellency feeling the temper of his Army, upon Collonell *Cobbets* Message (according to the power given him, when he was made Commissioner for governing of the Army, with Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, Collonell *Walton*, Collonell *Morley*, Collonell *Okey*, &c. by the Parliament, just before their dissolution) he

he models it, and ſecures ſuch Officers (as he found, either too looſely principled, or already too dangerouſly engaged, to be entruſted in ſo honourable an expedition as he reſolved upon;) in *Tantallon* Caſtle firſt, and ſince in the *Baſſe* Iſlands, ſo confining their principles and perſons within thoſe walls, which otherwiſe might have too ſad an influence upon that whole Army and Nation.

Sect. He declares.

And then thinks fit to declare his reſolution, to aſſert the authority of Parliaments againſt all violence whatſoever, in two Remonſtrances, one to the whole Nation, and the other to the Churches.

Whereupon the Engliſh Officers bethink themſelves of a Declaration too; 'wherein ſuppoſing the end of Government to 'be the publick good, they muſt perſwade 'the world that they are the onely promo-'ters of that in the world: *In melle ſunt lingua ſita veſtræ, atque orationes lacte; corda felle ſunt ſita, atque acerbo aceto e lingnis dicta dulcia datis, ut corde amara facitis.*

Firſt

Pretense white as milk,
And as ſoft as ſilk,
Will do the feat;
Your hearts as ſowre as gall
Purpoſe our thrall,
And thus ye cheat.

'They raviſh us with apprehenſions of li-
'berty, while they enthrall us with oppreſ-
'ſion; and as their uſuall manner is, they
'beſpatter the Parliament with their foul-
'eſt ink, making (according to an ordi-
'nary figure in Policy) every infirmity a
'fault, and every fault a crime: yea, they
were almoſt ready to ſwallow that groſſe
abuſe; *τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μὴ φέρειν*, *Iſocrates*, *of making the Office guilty of the Officers abuſe.*

And withall they declare the neceſſity of their proceedings; they thus make a virtue of neceſſity, ſeeing no other virtue will be ſo eaſily induced to ſerve their proceedings; and ſhe may well be the *patron* of all *licentiouſneſs*, who her ſelf hath no *law.*

They declare the neceſſity of continuing the caſhiered Officers in power, which is a neceſſity onely of their own creating,

and

and signifies no more, but that they are compelled to cover wrong with wrong; as if it were not enough to have done mischief with an Army, but we must continue that Army to defend and justifie it: Their πρῶτον ψῦδος is, *That his Majesty must be kept out of his just rights, and that the Nation be deprived of their Laws, Liberties, Religion, &c.* And thence it follows, as a Conclusion becoming that Premise, that it's necessary our Army be commanded by Persons, that are the worst Rebels against the one, and the greatest Violators of the other; ἑνὸς ἀτόπου δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι συμβαίνειν.

Sect. The efficacy of his Declaration.

But his Excellencies rationall Declaration (which he published to give the world the same satisfaction, for his undertakings, that he had already in his own breast, scorning the ἀνομία of πολέμου ἀκήρυκτον ἐπάγειν *Ioseph. An.* 15. *Crantz. Saxon.* 11. *Nicet. l.* 3. & 4. and willing to provide *honest things, even in the sight of men*) out-weighed their Pamphlet with the Judicious; because they saw in his few words; (for he, with *Stenelaïdos* the *Ephor, would not stand debating with words,*

being injured above words) that he asserted Authority, the ligament of humane society, against Violence and Rebellion; he asserted the true publique, instead of a private good; he stood for liberty against licentiousness and oppression: In a word, because they saw him expressing himself throughout like a Person of *worth and honour*.

Messengers sent to him.

After this γλυκὺ ψεῦδος of the Armies Declaration, they send two more Messengers to his Excellency, his dear Brother in Law, Doctor *Clerges*, and another, to satisfie him more fully of their proceedings; for his Excellency, as if he wanted nothing else all this while but good intelligence, writes them an ambiguous Letter, intimating, that he might comply with them better if he had but the happiness to understand them. Indeed it was but prudence, to suspend all expressions that might make them despair of his compliance with them, untill he were ready to appear against them.

Sect.

And these are followed by *Whaley* and *Goffe*, *Caryl* and *Barker*, as Messengers from the

the Churches, who had a Bird for every Conquerour: Its the boaſt of a *Dutchman*, that he can ſail with all winds; the Compaſs breaths not more varieties then theſe dexterous ſouls have changes, and garbs, and ſuitable compliances. 'Its the 'perfection of an Oratour, to make happy 'applications to the ſeverall humours and 'geniuſſes of all ſorts of men: That's the character of theſe Church-men; theſe Independent Willows are pliant to the poor power of a contemptible Committee of Safty; as *Alcibiades* ſhifted diſpoſition as he altered place, ſo they proportion themſelves to time, place, perſon, religion, with ſuch a plauſibleneſs, as if they had been born onely to ſerve that Opinion, which they harboured but as a gueſſe, while it continued in ſway.

In the mean time his Excellency (being by *a call* (as he expreſſed himſelf to the Convention) *from God and man*, engaged for *England*, to reſtore the Parliament to their due freedome and honour) aſſembles the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* at *Edenburgh*; to whom he propoſed: He calls an Honorable convention of Nobility and Gentry at *Edenborough*.

Sect. His propositions to them, with there Answer and his Reply.

1. That they would secure the peace of that Nation during his absence, which would not be long.

2. That they would supply him with some men for this undertaking, which he engaged upon his Honour should be to their satisfaction.

3. That they would advance what money they could beforehand.

And hearing by the Earl of *Glencarne*, the Chair-man of that Assembly, that

1. The Scots were, since their being disarmed, uncapable of keeping the peace.

2. That they were so unconcerned in the issue of his undertakings, that they saw no reason they should engage with him.

3. That they would advance a yeares tax before-hand.

1. He gives the Lords and Gentry power to arm themselves.

2. He satisfieth them privately in the design of his expedition.

3. And accepts of their yeares tax (O rare) before-hand; that being what he *first intended*, though what he *last proposed*.

And

And thereupon he diſmiſſeth the Aſſembly, which he would not have called together but in a caſe of neceſſity, which makes any thing lawfull; it being one of the *Regalia* (as *G. Tholes* hath it) to call Aſſemblies.

And then he reſolves to ſtay no longer then his ſupplies of men and money come in: In the mean time he encourageth Sir *Charles Coote*, the Lord *Brohill*, &c. to take this opportunity to reduce *Ireland*, with it's ſectarian Governours (the firſt poiſonous Creatures that ever came over thither) according to their deſign layed before any thoughts of the diſſolution of this Long Parliament; but he adviſed them to proceed leiſurely, and by piece-meal, for that, which at one view would be a *morſmo* to fright them, give it them but in part, and it would pleaſe them: *All great mutations* (ſaith the noble *Falkland*) *are dangerous, even where what is introduced by that mutation is ſuch, as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation,*

Sect. His prudent management of a Treaty.

Yet hearing that *Lambert* was coming againſt him with thirteen thouſand men,

(resolved *pro regno patriam penates, conjugem flammis dare*) indeed *Imperia pretio quolibet constat bene*, according to the advice of an high-spirited Fury) he (with that King in the Parable) sits down and considers with himself, whether with his seven thousand men (which was all he could bring to the field from his Garrisons, the Highlands, and the new supplies) was able to enter battell with his enemy, that leadeth thirteen thousand; and finding himself too weak, before the enemy enters his Territories, he sends Messengers of peace, he thinking of the unexpected Accidents before he did engage, *Thucydides* adviseth, was loth to hazard the justice of his Cause upon the chances of a battell; we, may quit something of our own right to avoid pursuing it, with so much hurt to other men as Warre carrieth along with it; *Vict. de jure bel. n.* 14. & 33. *Arist. Polit.* 4. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 3. *Pausan. l.* 5. *Philost. l.* 23. *Sen. suas* 5. Yet withall he provides for Warre; being (as *Ioseph.* 2. *Cont. Appian*) *To preserve the Laws; other losses he could bear patiently, but when he is forced to depart from the Laws, then he will fight even beyond his strength,*

and

and endure all extremitie of Warre.

He ſends three to treat with thoſe at *Wallingford*, *viz.* Collonell *Wylkes*, Lieutenant Collonell *Clobery*, and Major *Knight*, with letters to Gen. *Fleetwood*, 'intima-'ting his readineſs to comply upon reaſo-'nable terms with his old friends and fel-'low ſouldiers; and his ſorrow for the ad-'vantages which were given the common 'enemy, by this unſeaſonable diſtance of 'friends.

Sect. His Letters to the City.

But withall he ſends letters to the City, 'to encourage them to ſtand faſt in their 'Liberty, for their Laws, Priviledges, Pro-'perties, and lawfull Government; for which he there expreſſed himſelf ready to live and die: which letters were delivered by Collonell *Alured*, and Collonell *Markham*; but by reaſon of the concluſion the fore-mentioned Treaters came to, ſo contrary to the contents of thoſe letters, they were a while under *Caſſandraes* fate, of not being believed, though they brought in them the higheſt truths imaginable, as time *the father of truth* hath ſince made manifeſt.

Sect. The Treaty is concluded in an agreement upon these termes:

1. That his Majesties Title be renounced.
2. That *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, be governed as a free State, without any single Person, or House of Peers.
3. That an able and a godly Ministry be encouraged, and the Universities regulated.
4. That the Army be not disbanded without its own consent.

5. That there be a meeting of three from *Scotland*, three from *Ireland*, and three from *England*, not Officers of the Army, and five from *Scotland*, and five from *Ireland*, and five from *England*, Officers of the Army, to consult about a further settlement.

Sect. But his Excellency had discreetly reserved to himself the ratification of the Treaty, so that nothing should be of force untill he confirmed it with his own Seal; and therefore upon the return of his Commissioners by his own order, he (imprisoning Collonell *Wylkes* for going beyond his Com-

Commission) declareth the Treaty void, and marcheth towards the Borders, intending to make *Berwick*, which he had secured at first, his Head-quarters; holding correspondence with his friends all over *England*, especiall in the West, as the information Collonell *Cobbet* gave his friends at *Wallingford* House intimated.

Sect. At *Berwick* he gave the Messengers of the Army, and of the Churches, very plausible answers, which yet signified nothing, receiving and dismissing them with great respect; but yeilding to them nothing prejudiciall to his cause; so that one of the Ministers, upon his return home, must needs tell his Congregation, *That the seed of the Serpent is irreconcileable with the seed of the woman.*

Sect. Overtures towards a second treaty with the grounds of it.

Fabius saved *Rome* by a delay; his Excellency being advised from *England*, That if he could keep at distance with his Adversary untill the first of *January*, the work would be done without bloud-shed; make some overtures of peace with *Lambert*, but alwayes insisting upon the re-admission of the Parliament to the exercise

of

of their truſt, to be granted before they enter upon any Treaty.

Sect. Now ſome Commiſſioners for the Parliament, *viz. Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, having gained *Portſmouth* with the conſent of Collonell *Whetham*, formerly of the Counſell of *Scotland*, whereof his Excellency was Preſident; and *Lawſon* (notwithſtanding all endeavours by that Syren *Vane*, to perſwade him to the contrary) declaring with the Navy for the Parliament; and the Land forces for want of pay revolting; the Army in the North mouldereth away, and yieldeth to time and delay.

Sect. He moveth to *England* with his whole Army. Thus all force being removed from the Parliament, and they ſitting, thought themſelves not ſafe untill he by his authority and preſence came to awe the Souldiery and the tumults, that want nothing but an Head to lead them to another Rebellion.

Sect. His prudent management His Excellency (whom former Powers could not draw from *Scotland* with either fear or favour) takes this opportunity to of affairs throughout his progreſs to a ſubſerviency to his deſign.

do

do his Countrey and King a publick right: And ſo (though ordered to bring with him onely three hundred men, and diſpoſe the reſt for quarters) he marcheth with his whole Army, modelling ſuch Garriſons and Forces as he met with to a poſture ſubſervient to his deſign, intruſting them with men faithfull to his and the Nations Intereſt, *which were now no more two but one*: and commending the care of *Scotland* to Major Generall *Morgan*, a Perſon very induſtrious in aſſiſting his Excellency, going to him in his greateſt extremity from *London*, to encourage him and his Army to a reſolution in thoſe deſignes, that were as great as they were good, he marcheth with his own Army, which he knew was tryed and faithfull: whereas the other Forces (*an aire dato conducta cohors bellica, miles dona ſequens pretioque ſuum mutare favorem ſuetus, & accepto pariter cum munere bello, hunc habuiſſe dator pretii quem juſſerit, hoſtem, Bell. de re mil. 2. p. t. 2. n. 4.*) would upon the leaſt temptation (as he told the Parliament) betray both himſelf and them too.

And in his way finds the Honourable Lord

His conference with the Lord *Fairfax* in his way to *York-shire*. Sect.

Lord *Fairfax*, with Sir *H. Cholmely*, &c. in Armes against free Quarter, and for a free Parliament, with whom he had private conference, to each parties satisfaction.

Here he receives a Message from the City by the Sword-bearer; to which he returns this Answer.

1. That he was resolved for the Parliament as it was on the 11. of *Octob.* last.

2. And yet when he came to the City (which he said would be shortly) he assures them he would satisfie their expectation.

Thus at once he keeps himself to his own Commission, owns the onely face of Authority then in being, under whose Authority he might act safely, & yet privately manageth things according to his own principles and thoughts: So inferiour Orbes suffer themselves to be swayed by the motion of the superiour, while yet they steal a motion of their own: The Parliament serve the Publick for themselves; His Excellency will serve them for the Publick; 'Being inviolably constant 'to his Principles of Virtue and religious 'Prudence; his Ends are noble, and the 'meanes

'meanes he uſeth innocent: His Worth 'had led him to the Helm of our State: 'The Rudder he uſeth is an honeſt and vi-'gorous Wiſdome: The Starre he looks 'on, for direction is in Heaven; and the 'Port he aimes at, is the joynt welfare 'of Prince and People.

Sect. He is caressed by the whole Countrey but not understood.

And then he proceeds towards *London*, being courted by the Countries as he paſſed, as the Patron of Authority, Law, Liberty, and Property, (his Expedition looking like a Kings Progreſs rather then a Souldiers Marth) and addreſſed to by the moſt conſiderable Gentry, to uſe his intereſt in reſtoring them to their Birthrights, their Laws, their Priviledges, and a full and a free Parliament; whoſe deſires if he had ſatisfied, he had utterly diſappointed; for to have diſcovered himſelf, had been to defeat the hope of the whole Nation: *Veritatem voluit celari non mendacium dici*, *Aug. q* 20. *in Gen.* And therefore he uſually anſwered them, that he would ſee 1. All force removed from the Parliament. 2. The Houſe filled. 3. See that there be good proviſion made for future Parliaments: And ſo he kept him-

himself dark to his Adversaries and his common Friends, though he was light to himself, his Prince, and his discreeter Friends, *Quibus pro sermone nutus motusque membrorum est; uti, Plin. de Æthiopum Gente l. 6. 30.* ἄπατα μὲν, ἀπατεκὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ *Arist. Nu. 4. c. 8. Incerta disseruit, tracturus interpretationem, prout conduxisset, Tacit. Hist. 3.* He gave answers doubtfull and inclining whither they were drawn; *Manass. Ben. Iser. Concil. q. 39.* Notwithstanding there were two sent of purpose to watch him *Scot* and *Robinson*, who returned as wise as they came: His Excellency dropped never a syllable that Suspition it self could be afraid of, all the while they were with him; every word he let fall was the well-weighed issue of Judgement and Reason, that did signifie, but not betray his mind: His expressions were Oracles, as well for their clear worth to his discerning Friends, as for their dark doubtfulness to his preying Enemies, So Christ himself spoke to his Enemies in Parables.

Sect. He conceales his

About this time his Excellency saw how dangerous it had been for him to deresentment of the Par. hard usage to those that made address to him

clare

clare for the Nations right, when it was high misdemeanour but humbly to wish for it; when groans for grievances, as once at *Rome*, were dangerous, and complaints were treason; when men are imprisoned for what Nature, Reason and Law hath declared to be the right of man, and our Parliament declared to be the right of English men; I mean, *An humble Petition for Right.* He saw Sir *Coppleston Bampfield* for *Exeter*, and Sir *Robert Pye* for *Berk-shire*, without any respect at all to the Countries whence they came, the Message they carried, or the Honourable Person to whom they were imployed, confined to the Tower; and yet he having, with that Earl of *Leicester*, his passions in his pocket, looks upon them with an unconcerned eye, and takes no care for the liberty of few imprisoned persons, least he should lose the opportunity of redeeming an enslaved Nation.

Sect. How he controls his Souldiers.

His Excellencies march to *England* was slow & orderly: So first taking time to observe the posture, genius, and inclination of the Kingdome. Secondly, and keeping his Souldiers close to himself, ready for

for any occasion, and in order; fobidding all private meeting of Officers for consultations about State Affairs; assuring them, that he and they were rather to obey Powers, then to controul them: and that every person should be so long in Command under him, as they were in obedience under Authority.

Sect. A Letter to Mr. *Roll* in his name.

In his March he takes occasion to answer a Declaration of the Western Gentlemen, that run too high at that time to be complied with, and yet was too just and equall to be neglected: Wherein he published expressions, that like a well-framed picture, look'd smilingly upon all sides; especially let the honest part of the Nation see a Grant of their whole wishes through a denyall: 'For (said he) the 'Nation could not be settled without a 'Civill Warre, unless the severall interests '1. Of such new Sects (as *Presbyterians*, '*Independents*, *Anabaptists*) never known 'here before the Warres. 2. Of such 'new Factions, as the purchasers of Kings, 'Queens, and Bishops Lands, were provi-'ded for by such a comprehensive settle-'ment as might include all sides: (so al

δεῖ δ' τὸν νομοθέτην τὰς μίσυς προσλαμβάνειν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, *Ariſtot. Eth. 6. Quod commune eſt, connectit civitates, quod ſingulorum diſſipat, quare & publice & privatim utilius eſt ut publica magis quam privata curentur. Plato 4. legum*; a Law is to be profitable (ſaith *Cato L.* το γὰρ *D. de leg. l. 3. in fine D.D. petit hæred*) to the greater part and the main: *Semper non quod privatim intereſt, uni ex ſociis ſervari debet, ſed quod communi ſocietati expedit L. actiones ſect. Labeo D. Soc.* That is good for the Bee that is good for the Hive (*Antoninus*) and therefore Monarchy in the State which a free Parliament would introduce being ſo inconſiſtent with the later ſort of mens intereſt, and Monarchy in the Church which is the neceſſary attendant of State Monarchy (for no Biſhop no King) "they being ſo inconſiſtent "with the intereſt of the former ſort of "men was not the beſt way of eſtabli-"ſhing theſe Nations: Whereby he gave "us to underſtand rather what he thought "expedient, then what he thought lawful; "intimating withall to the diſcreet and "wiſe, that thoſe things were his as well as the Nations deſigne, but it was not yet time to accompliſh them. D As

As ſoon as time and prudence had conquered all remaining difficulties, he could be as much for a free Parliament, and the happy iſſues of it as themſelves. In the meane time, though his Loyalty prompted him to ſerve his Majeſty, and his Countrey; yet his Prudence taught him not to engage againſt Impoſſibilities: In a word, he lets not fall one word in that Letter, that ſeemed to deny that any of thoſe things therein mentioned were lawfull, though hee dropped ſome that ſignified that all thoſe things were not *Then expedient.*

Sect. His honorable Ladies arrivall at *London.*

When a long and tedious March, with the Prayers and Wiſhes of the whole Nation, had brought his Excellency to Saint *Albanes*, his honourable Lady borne to ſuccour afflicted Loyalty and Majeſty was arrived at *Whitehall*: Our *Venus* being brought by Water to meete her *Mars* by Land, how ſeaſonably is ſhee arrived to give heat and life to his cooler thoughts, and to ſpirit his grave and ſlow deſignes into accompliſhment! he ſayd the King ſhould *Come*, but ſhe ſayd *Now*: Her eager Paſſions, thoſe Whet-ſtones of vertue

tue (*Cic. Acad. 9. l. 4. Tusc. 9. l. 4.*) Set him on to a performance, when his cautious Wisdome checked him to a Retreat, *A furiis agitatus amor, A sacred fury of Love:* πάντος ὑποκειρητής, *Cæl. Rhodig. l. 16 c. 15. Raising her wishes above all thoughts of difficulties,* suggested to her expedition: but he remembring that οὐ δυνάμενοι κρίνειν ἐν πάθει ὄντες *Arist. Poli. 3. c. 16.* That Passions are not fit to conclude of Enterprize, Methinks answers her Importunate Loyalty: As *Latinia* doth *Turnus*,

— Quantum ipsa feroci
Virtute exupero, tanto me impensius æquum est
Consulere, atque omnes metuentem expendere casus

The more undaunted Courage doth you move
Its fit my serious feares shew the more Love
In mature Counsells, and in weighing all
The various dangers, and Event may fall.

The impatient Lady was so intensively fixed on restored Majesty, that shee seemed to decay with a lingring Expectation to enjoy it, ὡς τῶτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ (σὺν δαίμονι τάκω ὡς τακοίθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος, *Theocrit. Idyl.* 2.) she hardly rested night or day from some eminent service for her Soveraign, he took up her thoughts, her discourse, insomuch that her hopefull Son, when checked by some Gentlemen for an often mention of the King, replyed pretily, *I am sure my Father and Mother talke of him every night*: When the honourable City drooped under a fear of the Issue of the late doubtfull expedition of his Excellency, she *speakes* them to a Life and Resolution with these words: *Did you (Gentlemen) understand Generall* Monck *as well as I do, you might trust him.*

He lodgeth at *White-Hall.*

When he had stayed there some days to refresh his Army to consult with his Officers, and to look about him for the setlement of every thing in its place, in a subserviency to his designe, He marcheth to *London*, and refuseth not the accommodations offered him at *Whitehall*, as some thought he would; being too wary to open himselfe, when he had the opportunity

ty to hide himſelfe by an acceptance of a curteſie.

Sect. He gives account of his expedition to the House.

At *Weſtminſter* (when he had indulged himſelfe ſome time for the imbraces of his deareſt Conſort, that deſerved his firſt and deareſt Affections) he attends the Houſe ſolemnly according to their Order, conducted by *Scot* and *Robinſon* on each ſide of him, who was a virtue to each extreame, and modeſtly refuſed the Chaire that was offered him, now as above himſelfe in Humility, as he was above others in worth: *They with moſt Regret and Tenderneſs receive Honours that moſt deſerve them.*

Sect. His deportment and ſpeech.

Leaning on the back of the Chaire, provided for him, he delivered himſelfe in a choice, pure, breife, clear, vigorous Expreſſion of the great Notions in his mind to this purpoſe. 1. "That he deſerved "no Thanks, having done no more then "his Duty: *He is leſſe willing to hear Commendations, that hath done moſt worthy of them*: though he had attempted great things reſolutely and valiantly, he heared Applauſes and Elogies for them, by ſo much

much the more tenderly, by how much they were more justly due.

2. He turned their Thanks, Applauses, and Commendations from himself the *Instrument* in their Restauration to God the *Author*: *Accipio, agnoscoque, Deos*, Virg. Æn. 12.——εἰ τις Θεῶν.

Βλάπτει, φύγοι τ' ἂν ὁ κακὸς τὸν κρείττονα.

——*If God will fight* Soph. Aj. Ezek. 3. He can make the weak men put the strong to flight,

ἐκ Σοῦ, διὰ Σοῦ, εἰς Σὲ πάντα. *Anton.* By God, and therefore to God are all things, *Rom.* 11. *Ult.* But knowing that it is, μίαμοιβὴ κυριωτάτη ταῦτα δρᾶν ἅπερ ἄρεστα τῷ Θεῷ. *Clem. Alex. Strom. l.* 7. *Sen. Ep.* 95. *Chrysost. Hom.* 25. Its not the mentioning so much as the improving of mercies, which expresseth our thankfulness to God, *Ovid. Æschyr. Apud Plut. de audit. Poet. A. Gel. l.* 1. *c.* 15. *Tertul. de Patria, c.* 1. Therefore he humbly desired the Parliament to satisfie the Expectation of the Nation, in the establishment of their Laws Liberties,

Liberties, *&c.* Upon this their wonderfull Reſtauration; God had beene at the charges (as I may ſo ſpeak) of ſo many wonders from above, nor his Excellency of ſo much care and paines below to reſtore them, not ſo much that they ſhould ſeek *Their* own, as the publick good.

3. He deſired them particularly to take off the Suſpition men had of their perpetuity, by determining their own Seſſions, and providing for future Parliaments (A conſtitution *ſi vetuſtatem ſpectes vetuſtiſſima, ſi dignitatem honoratiſſima, ſi juriſdictionem Copioſiſſima*) Where the Nation by its ſeverall Repreſentatives might gravely, deliberately, and ſafely conſult its own peace and ſetlement. The Major part as *Grotius* ſaith in his *Hyl. Gothi...*) prevailing over the minor "*Otherwiſe theres no hope of Peace: Where there are multitudes of Counſellers there is ſafety.*

4. Then he commended to them a moderation in their qualification, intimating, *That it would be their Prudence not to narrow but widen their Intereſt*: Withal, telling them, the noble Gentry were ſo ingenuous, That faire meanes would bring to that compliance, when hard uſage would de-

terre them: English spirits must not be force dbut won by an acquiescence, they are not to be subdued but with kindness.

5. He wisheth them to be tender in imposing Oathes (though yet he thought none were to be admitted to any trust in *England*, as none ever was without an Ingagement to be faithfull to the Power in Being.) In all Governments Fundamentalls are secured by standing Lawes, obliging all to a faithfullnesse and constancy to them, when the supestructures are capable of alterations by the growing Wisdome of succeeding Ages, and Powers) He was sensible of the abuse of Gods Name in our frequent Oathes: *En toutes manieres sa este un fort belle Ordinance & institution, de en' user point du nom des dieux legerement de peur de les Contaminer, Car la Majeste des dieux ne se doit Imployer, qu' en un sainct, & Venerable purete.* Its wisely ordained that the Names of the Gods should not be used upon trifling occasions: for the Majesty of the Gods should not be imployed but in holy and venerable purity. *Malvezzi* on *Philostratus. Casaub. Exercit.* 202. 2, Of the abuse of force whence, ὅρκος παρὰ τὸ

εἴργω

εἴργω ὅτι εἴργει τὴν ὀρκούμενον. *Scholl. in Aristoph.* Untill men have used them so commonly, that they can shake off their Cords with as much ease as *Sampson* did his Withs, and breake over these Hedges of Faithfullnesse when they please: Though *Vt Masora sepes, legi decimæ divitiis, vota sanctimoniæ, silentium sapientiæ, sacramenta fidelitatis, Pirke Aboth* As the *Masora* Hedges in the Law, Tythes Hedge in Riches, so Oathes kepe in faithfullness, so restraining and bounding our hearts that are as unstable as Water, whose propriety is to be τὸ ἀόριστον οἰκείω ὅρῳ *Arist. Gen.* 5. *Corrupt. l.* 2. *c.* 2. to be apt to shed abroad when left to it self: but alass! His Excellency, since men make too much use of that piece of *Lysander* τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγόλοις δεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ὅρκοις, that Children are to be cosened with Rattles and men with oathes: with whom *pactum non pactum est, non pactum pactum est cum illis Lubet, Paul. Aul.* An oath shall no oath be, if they no advantage see: but an oath, an oath shall be if it with their designes agree they were so good at that of *Euripides, Iurata lingua est, mente juravi nihil,* that his Excellency thought

thought fit to put the Parliament in mind that they had more need to repent of their former oathes then to take new.

6. He warnes them to take heed of admitting Cavaleers and Phanatiques into places of any imployment or truſt: doing the Cavaleers no injury, for they could not have worſ thoughts of them then they had, but ſecretly weakning the Parliament, by rendring their friends the Phanatiques odious to them, and ſo uſeleſs and unſervicable: when he ſeemed to diſcharge Cavaleers from imployment, he meant thoſe whoſe actions had been more ſerviceable to their enemies then their friends, whoſe raſh and unadviſed zeal had done more harm than their Loyalty was ever like to do good; for thoſe ſober perſons that were in a mean between madneſs and Ænthuſiaſme, were ſuch as we have ſeen manage their moderate Councils in two Moneths, with more ſucceſs on his Majeſties behalf then others have managed their valour in twenty years.

7. He commends to them *Scotland*, as a Nation that indeed had of late deſerved to be encouraged, and aſſures them of *Ireland*, with the perſons in whoſe hands that Nation was. He

8. He commends to them a Free State, for he would gladly lay down his life; but he knew well that *Nunquam libertas gratior extat quam ſub rege pio*, That it is the higheſt freedome a State can hope for, to ſerve a good Prince.

Sect. The Parliament imploy him to the City.

And then he withdraws to his place in the Council of State where the firſt thing under conſideration was the reducing of the City, now ſtiffly reſolved to own no power ſave that of a Free and full Parliament, where he ſaw that that Parliament and Council of State were neer a period: by thoſe ſtrong attempts they made to keep themſelves alive, (*Morientium morſus acerrimus*, the laſt endeavour of the dying is moſt vigorous) for they order,

1. That he ſhould march into the City with ſo many Horſe and Foot, to force them to an obedience to the Act of Aſſeſſment: *Its the guiſe of men in power to act themſelves in the plauſible part of their Government, leaving the more offenſive paſſages to their inſtruments.* His Excellency coming up to the City, at *Guild-Hall* peremptorily demands the Aſſeſſement, by an order from the Parliament and the Council of State, to which demand proceeding

ding from him beyond expectation, the City after a little reſpit for extaſy and amazement, return this anſwer, *In* Magna Charta *confirmed by the Petition of Right, and renewed by this preſent Parliament, a day before their forcible diſſolution upon the* 11. *of Octob. they were to pay no Taxes, &c. but by their conſent in Parliament, which now they had not*: Yet to give no offence to the Parliament, the Council of State, or his Excellency, deſire time to conſider of it: and indeed thoſe debates upon which depended the welfare of the Nation, with its Liberties, priveledges, and properties called for time and leiſure.

His Excellency in the mean time writes to the Houſe to know their pleaſure, to which they anſwer that

1. *He ſhould impriſon the Honourable Col.* Bromfield, *Alder.* Bludworth, *L. C.* Jackſon, *Major* Cox, &c.

2. *That he ſhould remove their Chaines, digge up their poſts and break their Gates.*

Which ſtrange orders were ſent not only to try his Excellencys patience and obedience, but to make that emnity open which was but ſuſpected between him and the City; ſo did *Achitophel* adviſe *Abſolom*

lom to raviſh his Fathers Concubines *before all Iſrael*, that Iſrael might be aſſured that he and his Father were enemies.

And his Excellency obeys them readily, thereby gaining an opportunity to diſcover the genius of the City, which he had not otherwiſe there known certainly to be ſo reſolute for, and ſo true to Liberty and right.

But the Parliament as they intended, that by that imployment ſo offenſive to the City, he ſhould weaken his *Intereſt*; ſo they contrive that while he is buſy in it he ſhould be weakned in his power: His Commiſſion for Generalſhip expiring, they renew it not according to his deſert, but impower ſix more of themſelves to be equal with him in command that never came neer him in merits, according to their intereſt, viz. *Hazſlerig. Walton, Morley, &c.* which when his Army heared as they were not ſatisfied with their late imployment, ſo much leſs were they ſatisfied with this reward; the leſſening of their Generals power when they might juſtly expect his advancement, and therefore being aſſured of the City, by a conference at the three Tunns at *Guild-Hall*, his Excellencies

Sect. They afterwards degrade him.

His Officers Remonstrance thereupon.

lencies Head quarters, They humbly remonstrate, First, their sence of that violence they were commanded to offer the renowned City, a violence unparraleld in our worst of daies, which though they made havock of most part of the Nations, yet spared the ancient City, for its late performances too honourable, and for its antiquity too reverend to be so abused.

Secondly, their fear of several persons eminent in this late disturbance, who had their freedome within and without the City, to consult, plot, and design what might reduce us to our former misery.

Thirdly, their abhorrency of a late Petition delivered in the House by *Praise-God Barebone*, so subversive of all order and power, so dangerous to all Religion, worship, and discipline, so destructive to all Lawes, Statutes and Customes that to repeat it was to confute and condemne it, and all sober eyes have as soon abhorred it as seen it.

Fourthly, Their wish that the Parliament would quickly determine their session, and provide for succeeding Parliaments.

Sect. He adheres to the City

Which as soon as his Excellency had communicated to the Speaker by a Letter for a Free Parliament. he

he marched to *London* for quarters declaring for a Free Parliament, and casting himself upon the love, and faithfulness of the City, and Countrey, that they might stand by him in the prosecution of publick good.

In which resolution he persisted, (notwithstanding, 1. The flatteries of the House, cajoling him with the Honour of *Hampton Court*, and his Brother the Honorable Sir *Th. Clergis*, with the *Hamper Office* which was worth a 1000 *l.* a year. 2. Their snares, into which (had it not been for his incomparable Lady, he migh have been trappanned by a dinner, to which he was to be invited by the Council of State. 3. their threatnings expressed in *Haslerigs* Speeches, (that breathed nothing but fire and sword.) In the mean time taking his quarters among the Citizens, he expects patiently the issue of the Parliaments debates, in answer to his last Letters to them, and finding they thought of nothing but the setling of their own interest and continuing of their power; he desired the messengers they sent to treat with him, to delay time, to procure a conference between some Members of the House, and some

He heardt the controverſie between the Secluded and the other Members.

ſome honourable patriots that were excluded from it, which was granted and had before him for mutual information, in which he judiciouſly weighed each ſides reaſons and arguments being all the while ſilent himſelf, and concluding with himſelf upon the reſult of the whole, that the ſettlement intended by the houſe was upon foundations too narrow to bear up a publike good: he reſolved to withdraw all force from the houſe, and admit men of more ſober, moderate, and therefore of a more publick ſpirit, who would eſtabliſh us upon termes comprehenſive of every conſiderable intereſt among us, making each part happy in the welfare of the whole; which he did upon the one and twentieth of *February*, *Creſſane careat pulchra dies nota*. 5. Meeting the Secluded Members at *White-hall*, and expreſſing himſelf to them in a ſpeech not delivered by himſelf to avoid offence, but by his Secretary; wherin he commended tō their care.

He admits Secluded Members to the Houſe.

Sect. His ſpeech to them at White-Hal.

1. Religion that πρώτα ἐπιμέλεια, as *Ariſtot.* 7. that firſt care of Magiſtrates, it being in *Plato* and *Plutarch*, *Coagulum omnis ſocietatis & fundamentum*, and *efficaciſſimum vinculum benevola amicitia unius dei cultus*

Cultis Philo: ſo great an awe hath Religion had alwaies upon the ſpirits of men, prevailed with by the thoughts of eternal weal and woe, that to ſettle it Βασιλικὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον. *Iuſt. Mart. Apol.* would be a royal work, which his Excellency propoſed in the moſt ſober and moderate way, imaginable between ſome mens too cloſe and ſevere rigor, which his Excellency had diſcountenanced in *Scotland*, and others too looſe indulgence which he checked by a publike diſlike of a Sermon preached before him at St. *Pauls* for that abomination that makes deſolate, I meane a *toleration* for every one to do *what is good in his own eyes.*

2. He commends to them the State; deſiring them to provide for a Free and full Parliament, in whoſe reſolves he himſelf and the whole Nation might acquieſs.

Sect. He is Voted General.

As ſoon as they ſit, they vote his Excellency according to agreement, *Lord General of all the Forces in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; which truſt he managed with much diſcretion and faithfulneſs, modelling his Army to a temper ſuitable with the deſignes he had in hand, diſarming the Phanatiques in City and Countrey, in the

mean time taking care to arm Loyalty, while he layd the Factions naked.

Sect. He rejects all temptations to ambition, &c. baseness.

Now to let the world see his Excellency had the best Souldiery, virtues, valour, and wisdome; without any of their vices, and temptations of Command, Power, and Authority, which were offered him, and resolves rather to be a Loyal Subject, then an usurping Soveraign: he had rather have *obsequii gloriam* (as *Tacitus* calls it) the Glory of Obedience, then the Majesty of command.

Sect.

The Parliament having setled the City in its just power, by Mayor, Aldermen and an honourable Common-Council, and an incomparable Militia, under as worthy Commanders as ever lead English men to the field: and vacated the Phanatique power in the Countrey, and setled the Militia of the three Countries in honourable and great hands, of men of worth, and interest and provided for the future Parliament, they dissolve upon the 16. of *March*, leaving the care of the Nation to an incomparable Council of State, and the care of the Army to his Excellency, as Commander in chief, and Major General of the City, and the care of the Navy to his Excellency, and

the

the Honourable Lord *Mountague*.

His Excellency in this interval condescends to the divertisements of several entertainments by most Companies in *London*. The Honourable society of the Mercers beginning; but in the middest of pastimes and pleasures, his great and solid mind (as invincible by these soft, as formerly by his harder services), forgets not the greater affairs of State. Sect. His Excellency entertained in *London*.

And he keeps good correspondence with his Army by frequent conferences: at last he brought them to declare their acquiescence in the resolves of the approaching Parliament, to the confusion of such whose hope lay wholly in their reluctancy against lawful power. Sect. His prudence in the interval of power.

When *Lamberts* escape had stirred up the drooping spirits of the factions to designes threatning and formidable; his Excellency first discreetly ordereth the Forces in the Countrey, so as to prevent their uniting in any considerable posture, and then Honourably offers his own person for the service of his King and Countrey: In the mean time taking care to settle the Militia of *London*, and *Westminster*, so as they Sect.

might be able to guard themselves if he should be called abroad to engage against the Enemy.

Sect. He takes care likewise of Intelligence, well knowing of what concernment it is for a Nation to have an impartial relation of the actions of the supreme power.

Sect. The Parliament being sate, whereof he was a Member both for *Devonshire* and *Cambridge*, he carrieth himself there with that modesty that might become the meanest Member, hardly so confident as to own the honour that honorable House conferred upon him by their solemne thanks to him.

Sect. His modesty. And would hardly accept the 20000. l. bestowed upon him, until the Kingdomes account and stated, his Majesties occasion supplyed, his publike debts payed: so little did this publike minded *Worthy* care for his own things, and so much for the things of others.

Sect. He sends his brother in Law to his Majesty. When his Majesties gracious Declaration and Letters came over, to give occasion to modest Loyalty to discover himself, his Excellency having received the Declaration with a Letter to himself, (by the leave of

of the House which he humbly asked) he sends his Brother the Honourable Sir *The. Clergies* to attend his Majesty, with his humble answer, wherein was inclosed a loyal address from the Army, to let the world see how well a Generals command became him, who had modelled his Army to that temper, that there seemed to be but one soul controuling that whole great body, that expressed its allegiance to his Majesty unanimously as one man.

When the Honourable Parliament, (each Member whereof deserves an everlasting monument) had upon that blessed 1. of *May* voted the Government by Kings, Lords, and Commons) a constitution to be admired and envied, but not imitated) and were preparing Commissioners to attend his Majesty, to desire him to come to his Parliament and People with all speed possible. Sect.

His Excellency takes care for Pallaces to entertain him, his own incomparable Lady condescending to the drugery of a common maid for the service of her Sovereign and then gives order for so many Regiments of Horse to attend his Majesty, His care to make all things ready against his Majesties coming.

taking great care, and giving many discreet orders for his Majesties security, providing with valour against open foes, and prudence against base friends, knowing his Majesty had good reason to pray with the Italian *God deliver me from my friends.*

Ἐχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς ἀΐδαο πύλησιν ὃς χ' ἕτερον μὴν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἀλλὸ δὲ βάζε.

Hom. Il. 313.

Who have taken *Theogenis* wicked Counsel to his *Cyrnus.*

Εὖ κώτιλλε τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὅταν δὲ ὑποχείρος ἐλθῃ κτεῖζαι νὶν πρόφασιν μηδεμίαν θεμένος.

Vid. dom. vit. Agric. Tacit. Annal. l. 1.

Sect. His Excellency according to his Majesties order, waites upon his Majesty at *Dover* (being unwilling to Land before he came) with so much humility, as if he had not knowne any worth and merit in himselfe; and was received by his majesty as if he had knowne nothing in him but worth and desert: how Honorably doe the best of subjects and the best of Kings greet each other? how modestly doth the Subject kneel? how humbly doth the Soveraign kiss and embrace: its one property of love to condescend with a πόθος τίς τα τῶν φίλων φιλοῖσιν αἰσθέσθαι κακά. *Eurip. Hal.*

So

So Parents out of love to their Children lisp, and play, and fit their speech and dalliances to the age and infirmities of their children.

Sect. He meets his Majesty.

In that renowned progress of his Majesty to *London*, his Excellency had the honour to ride next before his Majesty, with the Illustrious Duke of *Buckingham* all the way to *London*, and with the Honourable Mayor through *London*: where the whole Nation saw him more Honourable in that he restored a soveraigne, then if he had been one more glorious in his Loyall Subjection then in an usurped majesty: his *bare head* was more honourable then others Crowns.

His tenderness of his Majesties prerogative.

When some careful of the Subjects liberty would have bounded his Majesties prerogative within the compass of the Lawes (it being a power not to be intrusted to frail flesh and blood to be above Law) and what was more have capitulated with him for his own right, and brought him to his Throne upon termes: his Excellency withstood the motion, scorning to fetch home a fettered Majesty, and to restore a captive Soveraignty: if he brought in a

King, he would also bring in prerogative; and a *plenam poteſtatem*, 2. *Ed.* 4. 17. 21. H. 7 2. H. 7. 7. as it was in *principio rerum*, where *Gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat, Iuſt. l.* 1. See *R. B. Ios.* in *Miſhpat Aammelech*: and indeed prerogative cannot be intruſted to a mortal more capable of it than our Soveraign, who thinks it his higheſt power not to be able to do an injury; and his higheſt prerogative to take nothing from his Subjects but a liberty to offend, *Principi ſummum rerum arbitrium dij dederunt, ſubditis obſequij gloria relicta eſt*, and may it ſuffice us when we admit his Majeſty to a Soveraignty over us, that we know, *Regem in ipſum imperium eſt Iovis*, God is Soveraign over him.

Sect. His care for juſtice.

It was thought his Excellency would intercede with his Majeſty for a general pardon to all parties and perſons, but his Excellencie perceiving his Majeſties extraordinary inclination to mercies, thought fit rather to encourage him to do Juſtice.

1. That innocent blood may not be upon our heads or upon our poſterities, ſuch blood as may *overthrow* a world: Its a fearful thing to let a Nation fall into the hand

hand of the living, by a neglect to satisfie that justice which divine mercy will not defraud, and therefore humane mercy dares not.

Secondly that posterity may look upon their late villanies with horror when they see them punished with severity.

πραδεῖγμα τι τοῖς ἄλλοις γίνεσθαι, ἵνα ἄλλοι ὁρῶντες πάσχοντα ἂν πάσχοι φοβούμενοι βελτίους γίνωντα, *Plato apud A. Gel. l. 6. c. 14. Famosos publica furca figendos pluribus placuit ut conspectu deturreantur alii ab iisdem facinoribus F. de. pœnis L. 28 P. fumosos Pet. Erod. decret. l. 2. Til. 14. Zeppa. de leg. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 29. c. 4.*

3. That compleat justice be done to all sufferers of the Clergy and Layty, righteousness establisheth a Nation, and the guilty must be as contented for the good of the Nation to *suffer* Justice, as the innocent may be to enjoy right.

But his Majesty and his Excellency hath taught the Nation *to sing of mercy and judgement* Ps. 101. 1. by their τῷ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις συγγινώσκειν ἐπίεικες, *Arist. Rhet. Iudex ut medicus syropos habet & aloen. R. maim. transl. p. 63.*

When

Sect. When his Majesty had leisure for any thoughts of setling his Officers of state he began in his own family, (for as a Bishop so a King must rule well in his own family) for how saith St. *Paul, can he rule the Church that cannot rule his house*, and how saith *Aristotle Can he govern Kingdomes that governs not his own Court*: Indeed Kingship (saith *Selden, in his titles of honour*, *Weems exercitations* 3. Arist. Polit. 7. Rev. Bp. Will. in his *jura Majestatis*) was first exercised in the narrow compass of an household, and those increasing to Cities, Kings awhile contentedly possessed those Cities, and Cities swelling into Nations, we had our *Kings* of Nations. Whence his Excellency had the honour himself of being *Master of the Horse*, and to commend the incomparable Sir. *Will. Morris* (eminent in his Countrey for piety, prudence, publike-mindedness, and valour for rejected truths, eminent in his worthy book called *Cæna quasi κοινὴ* for depth of judgement, solid and accute reason, sharp, quick, yet clear apprehension, for comprehensive reading, for a copious fancy, for a choice, grave, brief, perspicuous, pleasant, vigorous, and moderate-

moderately vehement expreſſion, with a gratious frame of ſpirit running through each part, and the whole of it) for the firſt Secretary of ſtate.

Sect. His Majeſty well weighing *That in the multitude of Counſellors there is ſafety*, called his Excellency with his own high-borne Brothers *in ſuffering* as *well as nature*, the Honourable Marqueſies of *Hartford*, of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, &c. to the Council Table, where there is no perſon that need go beyond him who firſt hath been preſent at all the ſubtile debates whereby the κοσμοκράτορες τῆς σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. *The Rulers of the darkneſs of this age* promoted their *myſteries of iniquity*.

2. Who hath managed the troubleſome affairs of *Scotland* ſo ſucceſsfully for ſo many years.

3. Who had manifeſted ſo much prudence in his late expedition, that the King ſolemnly deſired his ſage advice for the ſettlement of his Kingdome.

Sect. But his Excellency conſcious enough of the worth and ability of the moſt honourable Council is not ſo intent upon the affairs of ſtate, as upon thoſe of the field his own pecu-

peculiar charge, where his chief care was to model the Army to a frame subservient to his Majesties and the whole Nations interest; and well knowing that the whole Army is at the beck of superiour Officers as much as the lower Orbs & at the command of the first mover, he disposed of most commands to persons of honour, worth, and sound interest: His Majesty himself with his two Royal Brothers, honouring their respective Regiments with their command.

Sect. And now it may be expected that from this confluence of the highest worth, the most eminent virtues, the most renouned performances, the result must be the highest honour ἀρετὴ γὰρ παντελῶς ἀξιατιμή· *Arist. de mor. l. 4. c. 7. Charron wisd. c. 7. Hall government l. 1. c. 5.* and therfore his Majesty was pleased to call his Excellency to the House of Peers as Duke of *Aumarle**, Earle of *Torrington*, Lord *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchamp*, &c. Knight of the most Honourable order of the Garter, &c. honours that others indeed have enjoyed, but his Excellency made it his chief business to *deserve*: and I hope as he hath attained this

*See *Heylin* Surv. France Seele blane French Nob.

this honour with *great actions*, he will maintain it with *greater* until he is gathered to his Fathers full of honor and of daies, until having seen 1. That Sacred Majesty which he was an instrument to restore, established above malice, envy, ambition, rebellion, faction, and treason, by a sage Council, well constituted Parliaments, a well disciplined Army, and Navy, well chosen Officers and Ministers of State.

Secondly the subject secured against all encroachments (by a Prince whose prerogative it is that *he cannot do wrong*) in their persons, estates, lives or liberties, through wholesome, just, and good lawes, the Church established 1. Against all Heresy in the faith once delivered to the Saints against all schisme by the Primitive order, discipline and government.

3. Against all prophaneſs, 1. By a worship in spirit and in truth, 2. decent, 3. in order, 4. to edification, 2. by the *power* of godlineſs) his daies be swallowed up of eternity, and his honour be exchanged for *An eternal weight of Glory*. See 39. Art. Rogers. Dr. Overal. Dr. Ellis. Bp. *Andr.* ibid.

FINIS.